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MEMORIALS

OF

MONTROSE AND HIS TIMES.

PRINTED BY JOHN HUGHES, EDINBURGH.

MEMORIALS

OF

MONTROSE AND HIS TIMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

EDINBURGH:
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PREFACE.

Montrose is now recorded, we may say, from the cradle to the grave. He is recorded by a series of domestic and historical documents of every description, public and private, following in close chronological order, and illustrating in no slight degree the fearful times in which the hero played so conspicuous a part. The record is not only full but faithful. The reader whose humour does not accord with the sentiments so unreservedly expressed in the notes, may betake himself to and extract what counter arguments he can from the authentic materials which compose the text. Nothing has been suppressed which my researches could bring to light. Had I discovered a document which disproved, or seemed to dis-

prove, all my own preconceptions of Montrose's character, I would have printed it. Had I found a record demonstrative of the heroism of Argyle, and superseding, by unquestionable evidence that he possessed a truly Christian character, all the current ideas of his skulking cruelty, his selfish and furious fanaticism, I would have printed it. Had I stumbled upon sure and certain proofs that Hamilton did not betray his master, nor acted a double part between his King and his native country, till he brought the ruin of both upon his own miserable head, I would have printed it. Had I miraculously brought to light unknown examples of clerical zealots, and agitating apostles of the Scottish Covenant, who were rational, truthful, and merciful, who refused to pray for the blood of their noble victims, and only preached the peace, charity, and light of the Gospel, I would have printed them all. My own former biographies of Montrose are rendered imperfect by the many new documents subsequently discovered by myself, and now printed in these Memorials. I care not. In no material fact, in no estimate of public characters and conduct, have these new discoveries disproved me. But they have enabled me to raise a monument to the maligned memory of Montrose, more substantial than biography. Let an abler hand *now* write his Life, and illustrate his Times, in a popular form. But no one can do so, fairly and honestly, without the aid of all that I have written on the subject, and without the closest study of the collection

now completed. I cannot hope to have discovered all that exists regarding that momentous period. But I have done what one man could. If another, through a series of equally authentic documents, can reverse the picture, as regards the relative characters of Montrose and his enemies, let him do so. I tell him, there are acres and acres of unbroken ground. There is yet room enough for the diggings of an historical Layard. In the Hamilton archives alone there are treasures more precious to the historical antiquaries of Scotland than winged bulls. Throw open the Hamilton charter-room, and the history of Scotland must be rewritten. Indeed, in the charter-rooms of Scotland, that history, during its most important period, yet lurks like Truth in her well. And Burnet had before him, and at his complete command, all the historical wealth of the Hamilton repositories. Had he proceeded upon the plan of these Memorials, and, under the princely auspices of that illustrious House, printed in chronological order all the public documents, and private correspondence, which that leviathan charter-chest contains, and illustrated those historical treasures with collateral evidences from other authentic sources, what a work would have been his! But it would not have been an apology for the two first Dukes of Hamilton, and well Burnet knew the fact. It would have been a work of the highest historical value, but it would not have been that partial and cunning eloge entitled Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

Each part, or epoch, of this documentary history, is prefaced by an Introduction. In the first volume, these are chiefly occupied with an account of the materials, and an epitome of their most interesting contents. In this last volume, consisting, for the most part, of letters and papers which sufficiently speak for themselves, the Introductions generally contain a close and critical examination, and refutation, of some calumny which has entered History against Montrose. The first Introduction (p. 1.) is intended to destroy for ever that worst of all the imputations, under which his heroic character has so unjustly suffered, namely, that he made an offer of his services, to Charles I., with his own hand to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle. Amid the confusion of the Troubles, some such gossip, no less ridiculous than atrocious, had been conveyed to Clarendon, who had noted it among the collections for his history. In after years, his inefficient editors ignorantly gave it a place in the text of his great work. Malcolm Laing, the historian of those times in Scotland, instead of rectifying the pernicious blunder, disgraced his own distinguished labours by a dogmatical adoption, and most unwarrantable *rifacimento*, of the calumny in question. But, as we have shown, Clarendon is not to blame; having subsequently superseded the trash at first imposed upon him, with more accurate information obtained from the King, and from Montrose himself. In the same Introduction will be found a reply (p. 24.) to a very hasty,

and most extraordinary surmise of Lord Mahon's. He *suspects* that Montrose, in the year 1643, after having avowedly repudiated the Covenanting faction, after having narrowly escaped from their fangs with his life, immediately after being at the feet of his Queen as a devoted loyalist, immediately after a correspondence with his Sovereign, marked, on the Monarch's side, by expressions of the very highest sense of the truth, integrity, and honour of his chivalrous subject, and on that of Montrose, of the most devotional attachment to the loyal cause,—had conceived the inexpressible baseness, of *selling* his services to the Covenant against the Throne! The noble author is a loyalist, and a great admirer of Montrose. Yet strange to say, within the limited and friendly compass of a loyal and laudatory Essay, he has inflicted wounds upon the character of the hero, not less severe than the calumnies of his enemies. From the pen of Lord Mahon these are not calumnies—they are *crudities*. But not the less was it necessary to controvert them; and I have only to hope that the zeal with which this has been done throughout, will not be mistaken for discourtesy.

History contains a *pendant* to the assassination story against Montrose. The Sovereign in whose cause he died was no less absurdly and falsely accused of having issued a private order for the secret execution of Loudon, when confined in the Tower. This calumny has derived no slight importance from its adoption by Mr Hallam. I trust, however, that

the searching refutation, in the Appendix to Part IV., would, if honoured by that accomplished historian with an attentive perusal, incline him to regret that he had blotted his great work with the paragraph quoted below. And such, when on its highest horse, is 'Constitutional History.' One of the most distinguished masters of that imperfect and fallacious craft, stumbles upon a collateral point of which he feels the importance, but cannot afford to investigate it thoroughly. So with an assumption of knowledge which he does not possess, and an affectation of research which he never instituted, he affixes his imposing *imprimatur* to as worthless a story as ever disfigured History—a calumny not less improbable in itself, than it can be demonstrated to be false.[1]

[1] 'An anecdote, strongly intimating the violence of Charles's temper, has been rejected by his advocates. It is said that Burnet, in searching the Hamilton papers, found that the King, on discovering the celebrated letter of the Scots Covenanting Lords to the King of France, was so incensed, that he sent an order to Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant-governor of the Tower, to cut off the head of his prisoner, Lord Loudon; but that the Marquis of Hamilton, to whom Balfour immediately communicated this, urged so strongly on the King that the City would be up in arms on this violence, that with reluctance he withdrew the warrant. This story is told by Oldmixon, Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 140. It was brought forward on Burnet's authority, and also on that of the Duke of Hamilton, killed in 1712, by Dr Birch, no incompetent judge of historical evidence; it seems confirmed by an intimation given by Burnet himself in his Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton, p. 161. It is said by Laing, III. 189, to be also mentioned by Scott of Scotstarvet, a contemporary writer. Harris, p. 350, quotes other authorities, earlier than the anecdote told of Burnet; and upon the whole, I think the story deserving credit, and by no means so much to be slighted as the Oxford editor of Burnet has thought fit to do.' (Constitutional Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 81.)

The Oxford editor of Burnet showed his discrimination and good sense. What an air of historical truth, candour, and research

The second Introduction in this volume (p. 103) disposes of Bishop Burnet's depreciatory, and *slip-slop* account of

does Hallam's note present to the general reader! No doubt it has often passed current for a happy condensation of critically accurate research. But the cautious and sceptical reader of Constitutional History can scarcely fail to perceive how extremely loose is its texture; and the student who is not willing to take so improbable and depreciatory an anecdote upon trust, but prefers investigating for himself, will soon discover that this *epitomising* by the great historian is not the result of knowledge, but of the want of it. Did our historian know that of this anecdote there are five versions, all essentially differing in their details, and some of them absolutely contradictory of each other? Did he know, that of those five different versions, the oldest, and certainly the least suspicious, is *complimentary* to Charles I., and makes him the good genius of the story? (See the Refutation, *infra*, p. 100.) Did he know, that of those contradictory versions, the most contradictory can be traced from the *same individual*, to different auditors,—one Frazer, a *friend of Burnet's?* (Refutation, p. 95.) He quotes Oldmixon, and Dr Birch's report of Bishop Kennet's version. Did he know that Oldmixon tells one story, Kennet another, and Wodrow a third, all essentially differing, yet all derived, according to their own accounts, from this same friend of Burnet's? Did he know, that Wodrow says he was told by *Frazer*, that the King called Hamilton back into the room, *gave him up the warrant*, and told him to do what he pleased with it, and that the Marquis *took the warrant and placed it among his archives*; while on the other hand, Kennet says, he was told by Frazer (whose authority was hearing Burnet tell the story in a company of Peers!) that the King said, '*Give me the warrant, and taking it, tore it in pieces*'? Did he know that Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons is not only silent on the subject, but absolutely destructive of the calumny, by the documents he there happens to produce; and that even in his *posthumous* repertory of scandal the story is not to be found? Did he know that Loudon, the active enemy of Charles, and of the Monarchy, never after his release communicated this politically important incident even to his most intimate political friends in Scotland, such as Warriston, Baillie, &c.—a fact sufficiently proved by the utter silence, on the subject, of their excited and voluminous correspondence? Strange that such a writer as Hallam should require teaching in a matter so important to his great work as evidence, and the accurate sifting of evidence, relating to the character of Charles I. His note actually commences as if he had no knowledge of the character of Charles whatever. He speaks of an anecdote, 'strongly intimating the violence of Charles's temper.' That this Monarch was hot and hasty, in temper and

Montrose's military career, which he winds up with the declaration, that 'in his defeat he *took too much care of himself*, for he was never willing to *expose himself too much*,'—an insinuation than which History does not contain one of more malicious effrontery. The reading of that passage suggested the ambitious attempt to depict (p. 115) Montrose at the culminating point of his fruitless victories,—fruitless from no fault of his,—and through the medium of a poetical Soliloquy, to describe his position and his feelings, when, triumphant, but deserted and betrayed, he was on the eve of his first defeat.

in speech, every schoolboy knows. But even Malcolm Laing admits the humanity of his character. Every schoolboy knows that he had nothing of the temper of Henry VIII. or Louis XI. Yet this anecdote, so loosely and slovenly bolstered up by Mr Hallam, would go to prove, that, without the manliness of the tyrant of England, Charles I. was as vicious as the demon of France.

But, says Hallam, 'Harris quotes other authorities *earlier* than the anecdote told of Burnet.' Harris quotes not one single authority that is so early, by many years, as the period when Burnet narrated an anecdote which he nowhere ventured to record. He told the story immediately after the publication of his lives of the Hamiltons, in 1677. The oldest authority quoted by Harris is 'Ludlow no liar, 1692.' And what is Ludlow's authority? Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons, where the story *is not!* Oh fie, Mr Hallam! But Harris relies chiefly upon the modern authority of *Dr Birch*, whom we have disposed of in the Refutation (*infra*, p. 89.) 'What,' says Harris, 'must every impartial person *now* think of Charles? Where is his boasted justice, clemency, or mercy? We may well suppose this action did not tend to conciliate the affections of the Scotch nation to his person and government.' Surely Mr Hallam, instead of swallowing this trash from Harris, would have better performed his part as a great historian, by showing, as we have done in the Appendix, that 'the Scotch nation' *never heard*, in the whole lifetime of Loudon, that any such peril had happened to him. Did Mr Hallam know that the only authority, for the anecdote in question, that seems entirely independent of Burnet, actually refers it to a hoax for the purpose of frightening Loudon, and to which hoax the King himself indignantly put a stop? (See Refutation, p. 99.)

I cannot hope to have accomplished the design; but the truth of the historical picture may compensate the poetical deficiencies.

The third Introduction (p. 333) again comes into collision with the mendacious Bishop. His object being to raise the character of Hamilton upon the ruins of that of Montrose, he records the heroic and high-minded Marquis, now as a selfish poltroon, and now as an unprincipled mendicant. Had the calumny, of his mean conduct to Henrietta Maria and her just resentment of it, which this Introduction thoroughly refutes, been true, Montrose possessed neither the chivalry of a knight, nor the feelings of a gentleman. Mr Macaulay has gone so far as to say that Bishop Burnet was '*emphatically* an honest man.' If this be a just estimate, then have I treated this honest man with an emphasis of condemnation which must recoil upon myself. But I am not afraid. What I have said, is under the correction of what is produced and proved. In the notes and introductory illustrations to these volumes, I have not attempted to dress by the purists in historical composition; nor have I sought, when coming into collision with cruelty, hypocrisy, cowardice, calumny, and malice, to fashion a single phrase to that mincing mode of half-complimentary dislike, which, sacrificing the expression of a just indignation to a timid or fastidious taste, fears to call a spade a spade. With regard to Burnet, perhaps the letter, printed from the Napier Archives in the Appendix to

Part IV. (p. 79), may extract the emphasis from Mr Macaulay's estimate, and add some weight to my own.

The last Introduction,—namely, to Part VII., which is so much indebted to the valuable MS. communicated by Mr John Thomson, of Liverpool,—restores to Montrose that of which we scarcely could have anticipated he would be deprived after the lapse of two centuries, and by Lord Mahon. Forgetting that at the time of Montrose's death his friends in Scotland were of the most honest and highest minded in the kingdom, the noble critic has broached the very novel theory, that the dying hero's eloquent and characteristic address to those around him on the scaffold, taken down from his own lips, and immediately published in both kingdoms, was in reality a forgery, committed after his death, by the loyal friends who were left to lament his fate! Finally, we have there held up to the indignation and scorn it merits, that mean attempt by Argyle, who well knew the contrary, to persuade the community of Scotland, that the last expedition of Montrose was the reckless attempt of a turbulent adventurer, who for his own ends would have disturbed the Christian repose of the country, without, and contrary to, the commands of the Sovereign.

The series of historical documents which this volume contains, embraces many interesting and important papers, now printed for the first time. A renewed search in the Montrose charter-room, for which his Grace afforded every facility, has brought to light the depositions, before the Committee

of Estates, of a number of individuals, some of them persons of distinction, and others ordinary prisoners of war, whose evidence abounds in minute and curious details. These serve to illustrate Montrose's campaigns, both at the outset of his career in 1644, when he distinguished himself against the rebels in the north of England, and also throughout the whole series of those surprising victories, by which he fulfilled, and more than fulfilled, his desperate mission from the King. Other documents were at the same time recovered, from the charter-room at Buchanan, which evince the vindictive spirit of the clerical government of Scotland, and justify the severest comments that can be passed upon those chiefs of the Covenanting clergy, who hardened their hearts against the fact that the Almighty's throne is the throne of mercy.

To his Grace the Duke of Hamilton the volume is indebted for a few letters and documents of great interest, which are duly acknowledged where they occur. But I must be allowed to express my grateful sense of the courtesy displayed by his Grace, in our correspondence on the subject.

His Grace the Duke of Richmond has also greatly benefited the work, by the liberality with which he placed at my disposal twelve original letters, written by Montrose to the Marquis of Huntly, and not hitherto printed. This valuable acquisition, of which I had not the benefit when formerly writing the Life of Montrose, will enable the world to judge yet more favourably of the perfect temper, fine spirit, and

untiring energies of the hero. They exhibit him acting under the pressure of adverse circumstances, and the most disheartening provocation from those upon the faith of whose active and constant co-operation he was so fully entitled to cast his stake. These letters are for the most part addressed to Huntly after the disaster at Philiphaugh.

Lord Napier has, of course, contributed the Montrose memorials contained in his charter-room, *con amore*. Among many interesting illustrations must be particularised the letter (p. 306) written by Montrose's nephew, the second Lord Napier, to his own lady, affording a minute account of the Marquis's proceedings while in exile, an account which supplies a deficiency in history, and brings to shame the calumnies of Burnet.

The papers of the Seaforth family, most courteously consigned into my own keeping by the Honourable Mrs Stewart MacKenzie, have furnished their quota of valuable illustration; and the thanks of the Maitland Club, and my own, are in like manner due, for the ready contributions of Sir John Ogilvy of Innerquharity, Bart., William Stirling, Esq. of Keir, and John Spottiswoode, Esq. of Spottiswoode, from their respective archives. I have also been so fortunate as to bring to light a collection of original Montrose papers which, in the course of this year, were sold by auction in London, and had very nearly escaped observation. Accidental information gave me the fact that these original and unprinted documents, seventeen

in number, had been so disposed of. But, scattered as they were in all directions, from this public sale, it seemed a hopeless adventure to re-collect them. With the cordial assistance, however, of the literary auctioneers, Messrs Puttick and Simpson, to whom my best thanks are due, I was enabled, by personal exertions in London, to trace every one of these seventeen documents to their present possessors, and thus to transfer their contents to this work. They will be found duly acknowledged in their chronological order. But I feel bound to record, that in no one instance, after having discovered the possessor, did I find the slightest difficulty in obtaining either an accurate transcript, or temporary possession of the document for transcription. The following are the names of the parties to whom the volume is thus indebted :—

The Lord Mahon ; Henry F. Holt, Esq., London ; H. B. Ray, Esq., London ; Peter Cunninghame, Esq., Somerset House, London ; Henry Porter, Esq., London ; Benjamin Nightingale, Esq., Clare Cottage, London ; and Mr W. F. Watson, bookseller, Edinburgh, whose valuable and multifarious collection, by the way, would serve to illustrate a history of the world.

None of these last documents thus accidentally recovered are of any great historical value ; but they afford interesting and important links in the chronological series of biographical illustrations. They are for the most part, orders and instructions issued by Montrose in the years 1645–6, both before

and after his defeat at Philiphaugh. Some of them evince extreme anxiety for the safe custody of his prisoners, whom he consigned to the castle of Blair in Athol, under the charge of Robertson of Inver, and retained for the sole purpose of effecting exchanges. They also afford evidence of his anxiety to control his wild Irish troops, and to keep them to the Standard, and to protect the districts he had conquered, from their insubordinate cruelties and depredations. The letters are autograph; but the military orders only bear his signature. These are written by his secretary, 'Master James Kennedy,' who originally was secretary to the Marquis of Huntly, but faithfully attended Montrose in that capacity through all his campaigns. One of the documents in question is an interesting letter from this Kennedy to the Captain of Blair. It proves his devotion to Montrose, who had the misfortune to lose him not long afterwards when he fell into the hands of the enemy at Inverness. In the year following Montrose's death, this faithful secretary was induced, more probably compelled, to bow to the then omnipotent Covenant, and to abjure, in terms both abject and abusive, the loyal nobleman whom he had served. It is curious to compare his letter to Inver (p. 270), with the melancholy record of his recantation, which will be found in 'the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie,' printed for the Spalding Club. In the year 1651, he 'compeired' before that Presbytery, '*in sacco* upon his knees, declaring himself to have great sorrow of heart for

these sins for which he was excommunicated, and that he was unfeignedly touched with the weight of that sentence, earnestly longing to be received into the communion of the people of God;' and further he confesses, doubtless in terms which were dictated to him, that after quitting the service of Huntly, 'I did immediately thereafter associate myself to umquhill (deceased) James Graham, *excommunicated traitor*, who had invaded this Kingdom with a number of bloody Irish, and barbarous Highlanders, with whom I continued in arms for the space of a year, and above, until I was taken prisoner, after Philiphaugh; being also partaker and highly guilty of all that bloodshed, raising of fire, rapine, plundering, and all other barbarous insolencies, and unnatural cruelties and outrages, committed all that time.'

Thanks are in an especial manner due to Eliot Warburton, Esq., the accomplished author of Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, and to his publisher Mr Bentley. Through their liberality I have been enabled to complete the correspondence which occurred in the year 1646 between Prince Rupert and Montrose. The letters from the Prince were all in the Montrose archives; but it was not known that the relative letters from the Marquis were also in existence, until the most of them appeared in Mr Warburton's work. These were discovered among a vast number of historical documents which had been purchased by Mr Bentley, and out of which was quarried 'Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers.'

Montrose's letters are modernised in Mr Warburton's work, and it is to be regretted that some important misreadings there occur. Careful transcripts, however, in the original orthography, of all these letters, including some not printed by Mr Warburton, were transmitted to me by Mr Bentley, which enabled me to print them accurately in this volume. Thus fortunately, and very accidentally, have both sides of this interesting correspondence been brought together; which, indeed, was required to render either side intelligible.

I may also take the liberty to particularise the following gentlemen, personal friends, whose ever ready aid, from their own historical resources, I feel bound gratefully to acknowledge. The Very Reverend Principal Macfarlan of Glasgow College; Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. of Hoddam; James Dennistoun, Esq. of Dennistoun, Advocate; Doctor Irving, late Librarian to the Faculty of Advocates; James Robertson, Esq., Sheriff-substitute of Caithness (a cadet of Struan); James Maidment, Esq., Advocate; W. B. D. Turnbull, Esq., Advocate; David Laing, Esq, of the Signet Library; Pitt Dundas, Esq., Advocate, Deputy Clerk-Registrar; Alexander Macdonald, Esq., Register House; the Messrs Robertson, and all the other gentlemen connected with the custody of the Records.

The following scraps of information were acquired too late for insertion in their proper places; but must not be omitted, as they tend to qualify some statements which occur in the body of the work.

In the first volume will be found (p. 97) the details of a most extraordinary prosecution, in which Sir John Colquhoun of Luss was charged by the public prosecutor with the seduction of Montrose's sister—the sister of his own wife—by the aid of *necromancy;* the means being an enchanted jewel, prepared by his own valet, Carlippis, 'who was ane necromancer.' It is there also stated that these diabolical coadjutors, declining to stand a trial, made their escape, carrying their prey along with them, and that none of the three were ever heard of more. Such indeed, so far as I have been able to discover, is the case with regard to the unfortunate Lady Katherine Graham, and the infernal instrument of her ruin, the German Carlippis. But, strange to say, Luss himself re-appears. He re-appears, performing his humble obeisance to the Covenanting Kirk, and no longer in dread of his Majesty's Advocate for his Majesty's interest. He re-appears in 1647. But the virtuous monarch, who had ordered criminal proceedings against the incestuous seducer, was now dethroned; the official guardian of the public peace and morals, was *Archibald Johnstone of Warristoun;* and the young victim, of as great and disgusting a crime as ever darkened the records of sinful Scotland, was *the sister of Montrose.* The following note and extracts from the records of the Presbytery of Dunbarton, were communicated to me by my friend Mr Dennistoun:—

'Sir John Colquhoun of Luss had been excommunicated, apparently on a charge of incest. April 20, 1647, his brothers,

Colquhoun of Balvie, and Adam Colquhoun of Glins, inform that Presbytery, that he (Sir John) had just before learned the sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced *when he was out of the country;* and prayed that some of the brethren might confer with him thereanent. These report, 11th May 1647, that Luss, "With many tears. did regrat and bemon his cace; and wissed nothing more nor to be resaved againe into the bosom of his mother Kirke, wher he was bred, borne, and baptized, and *wher the ordenances of God wer so pur:* but did *sumwhat declyn* a plaine and free confessione of the sinne of *incest with his sister in law*, Lady Katrine Grame, *till he had setled his estat in the world.*"'

This last sentence removes all doubt as to the identity of the person. And here we have a very unequivocal and lamentable illustration of the fact, that, with the Covenanting Kirk and Government, there was no crime so great as a refusal to bow before its purity and power, and no stain upon the human character so black, as not to be softened, indeed obliterated, by abject offerings at the altar of the Covenant. It even appears, from what follows in Mr Dennistoun's notes, that this disgrace to his species had formed a second alliance, by an irregular marriage which the Kirk investigated more sternly than his monstrous crime, but eventually declared him free from censure. The first part of the extract regards Sir John Colquhoun's daughter, who seems to have been worthy of such a sire.

'28th September 1647. "In the censur of Mr Archibald M'Lauchlane, it is fund he hes married Mr Walter Stewart upon Jeane Colquhoune, daughter to the laird of Luss, contrair to ordour, and, as is surmised, without consent of the said Jeane her father. He affirmes that he had the consent of her father, from Robert Colquhoune of Balernich, quhilk he behoved to accept, becaus he was discharged to have any conference with the laird of Luss, *being excommunicat;* and, for breach of ordour, he acknowledges he proclaimed them, once upon a Thursday, his ordinar week day of sermon, and twyse upon the Lord's day therafter; and that at the earnest desyre of the said Robert Colquhoune, who professed to him it was the earnest desyre of the friends *to have the marriage hastened;* and for thair repentance, *for thair full befoir thair mariage,* they did, befoir the pulpit, acknoledge humblie thair offence; quhilk he was content to accept, becaus ther was no scandell of them in the cuntrie; nor knew he any thing of it, untill the parties offered it. The Presbytery continues (delays) thair censur till thair return from the Synod." The minister was afterwards ordered to be rebuked in face of his congregation for this breach of order.'

'1648. Luss was married to Baillie, daughter of Lochend, without proclamation of bands, by Mr Archibald M'Lauchlan, minister of Luss, who was therefore suspended and deposed. The matter went before the General Assembly, who did not consider that *the married couple merited censure,*

but thought that the mother of the lady (now married to Kilbirny) should confess her fault in her own parish kirk.'

In the first volume (p. 141) is brought to light, by means of the Southesk Papers, the private tutor of Montrose's boyhood, 'Master William Forret.' He had never been heard of before, and little else of his history is known. I had there conjectured (p. 141, *note*) that his death occurred in 1658, but was mistaken in the man. He died at the beginning of the year 1652, surviving, by little more than a twelvemonth, his illustrious pupil, whose career and fate he must have regarded with the deepest interest. He re-appears in this volume under circumstances which unequivocally indicate that Montrose continued to retain feelings of respect and affection for this obscure guide of his youth, who appears to have escaped the persecution of the Kirk. From the depositions lately recovered from the Montrose Papers, it appears, that immediately after the taking of Perth, his first victory against the Covenant in Scotland, our hero not only sent for his young sons to be with himself, but for his quondam tutor Master William Forret. probably to take charge of them, and also to manage his precarious exchequer. This interesting trait was unknown until now. (See *infra*, pp. 157, 159.) Of William Forret's subsequent history I have been unable to trace more; but the extract noted below, from the Register of Confirmed Testaments, which was communicated to me by Mr David Laing, leaves no doubt as to the individual, and also gives us the name of his father.

His connection with the leading branches of Montrose's house, and the affectionate bequest of his small means, 'when it is gottin in,' to the three sons of his beloved master's dearest ally, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, sufficiently establishes the identity. It is pleasant to find that Montrose's earliest friend, the director of his first studies, and the companion of his boyish rides, recanted not *in sacco* when the hero was no more, as did Master James Kennedy, but left an indication at his death that he remained loyal and true to the end.[1]

The unexpected and valuable contributions of Mr Mackinlay of Whitehaven have been already mentioned (vol. I., p. 211). In the present volume there is printed from those papers (p. 141), for the first time, the written Instructions with which, it seems, Montrose had charged Lord Ogilvy, when he dispatched him to the King, before proceeding upon his own desperate expedition to Scotland. This important document, which casts so much light upon Montrose's position, and the selfish conduct of those loyalists who opposed themselves to his distinction and rise, never having been heard of before, I had concluded

[1] *Confirmed Testaments.* 'Edinburgh, 15 December 1651. Mr William Forret (sone to umquhill James Forret of Borrowfeild), quha deceist in the month of February 1651[2] yeiris; Inventar gevin up be himself last (day of) October 1651. Summe of the debts awne to the deid, L.3920, 15s. 8d. This includes a debt due be David Grahame of Fentrie, Sir Robert Grahame of Morphie, and utheris Grahames, conforme to their band, the sowme of L.2500, with interest,' &c. In his Testament, dated at Edinburgh, last day of October 1651, he leaves,—'*Item*, to Sir Robert Spottiswood his thrie sones, the foirsaid sum of L.1000, quhen it is gottine in, being 500 merkes ilk ane of the thrie.'

that no other copy of it existed. Recently, however, I discovered another copy of these Instructions among the Wodrow Papers in the Advocates' Library. The original appears to have remained with Lord Fairfax, who transmitted the copy now printed (which appears to be autograph of the Parliament General) to General Leslie. From some slight discrepancies occurring between these copies, it would seem that the copy communicated by Mr Mackinlay had been hurriedly made, or that some difficulty had been found in decyphering the original. The only difference of any importance, however, occurs in the sentence regarding Prince Rupert. In the copy now printed, it runs thus: 'Bot the Prince, when we come to him, tooke all the force from us, and would supplie us with non; so we were left abandoned; nather would they do us so much as give our *persons* quartering on this countrey.' This is in the tone of a complaint, and rebuke to the Prince, and in that sense I had commented upon it (p. 145, *note*). But the following more ample version in the Wodrow copy entirely dissipates this idea, and is consistent with the respect and admiration which Montrose expresses for Prince Rupert in their subsequent correspondence printed in this volume (p. 355). 'And how, when we come to the Prince, *his occasion forced him to make use of* the forces we brought alongst with us, and *would not suffer him* to supply us with other. So that we were left altogether abandoned; and could not so much as find quartering *for our own persone*, in these countries.' Moreover, the

Wodrow copy enables me to correct the misreading of a name, not distinctly written in the one printed. At p. 144 will be found Montrose's anxious instructions regarding the release of an officer, whose name is there printed 'Colonel Wallace.' But the other copy has it 'Colonel Bellasis,' undoubtedly the accurate reading. In 1644 the Marquis of Newcastle (says Clarendon) went with his army to meet the Scots invaders at Newcastle, 'leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the forces for the guard of that county, to Colonel John Bellasis, son to the Lord Falconbridge, a person of great interest in the country, and of exemplary industry and courage. But by this means, and the removal of the Marquis with his army so far north, the enemy grew to a great strength in those parts; and not only able to disquiet Yorkshire, but, drawing a great body of horse and foot out of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire, sat down before his Majesty's garrison of Newark upon Trent, with a full confidence to take it, and so to cut off all correspondence between his Majesty and the Marquis of Newcastle. And Sir Thomas Fairfax from Hull, in the head of a strong party, had fallen upon a quarter not far from York, commanded by Colonel John Bellasis at Selby, and had totally defeated it, taken the cannon, and many officers prisoners, and amongst those the colonel himself. This was the first action for which Sir Thomas Fairfax was taken notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme General under the Parliament.' Montrose, whose co-operation with the

Marquis of Newcastle in the north of England, is curiously, and for the first time, illustrated in these Memorials (see p. 127, *et infra*) appears to have taken the deepest interest in the release of this distinguished officer, and had written to Lord Fairfax on the subject. I have now no doubt, that the letter discovered by myself in the British Museum, and printed in this volume (p. 138), regards Colonel, afterwards Lord Bellasis, and not a *Colonel Wallace*, as I had erroneously conjectured in the note to that letter.

Through the kindness of the Right Honourable Fox Maule, the Lord Napier, and William Stirling, Esq. of Keir, this volume has been enriched with four portraits. The history of the most important of these, that which forms the frontispiece, has been already given in the Preface to volume I. Having personally superintended the progress of the engraving throughout, and subjected it to the closest scrutiny and comparison with the original, I am enabled to state, that, independently of the merit of the mechanical part of the engraving, so highly creditable to the artist, Mr Faed, the reproduction of the original, in air, feature, and expression, is as perfect as reduced size, and a colourless medium, could possibly effect. It is very rarely that sufficient attention is paid towards securing scrupulous accuracy in the engraving of portraits. How often are we made to look at Vandyke and his illustrious contemporaries, through the most unsatisfactory medium of engravings derived from rapid sketches taken from the origi-

nals at a distance. And even when the original is at hand, how often are the minute traits of feature slurred over, even by the best engravers, so as to impart a totally different expression. And how often do the authors and compilers of volumes richly and expensively illustrated with historical portraits, leave this essential accessary entirely in the hands of the engraver, who is thinking probably of nothing beyond *good engraving*, as if a perfectly accurate likeness, of portraits of great characters by great masters, were of no consequence to the author's reputation, or to the instruction of the public.[1] I can safely say that this defect has been guarded against in all the portraits which decorate this work. The *physique* of the hero himself, is now, *for the first time*, most truthfully represented; and that, too, from most characteristic portraits of him, when at the opposite phases of his life, by George Jameson, and *Gherardo dalle notte.*

The portraits of Sir George Stirling and his Lady, from the gallery at Keir, afford an admirable specimen of the dress of the period. There can be no doubt that these were painted in reference to their marriage, as was the case with the youthful portrait of Montrose, and most probably in their wedding garb. Jameson has affixed his autograph to both of these portraits, which obviously have been painted at the same time.

[1] See the remarks on Houbraken's engraving of Montrose's portrait at Buchanan, in the Preface to the first volume. Even Mr Lodge's elegant and valuable work is vitiated by this species of carelessness.

Originally they occupied one frame. But as Sir George Stirling is known to have been twice married, it may be necessary to identify the lady as his *second* wife, Mistress Margaret Napier, Montrose's niece. There is a melancholy story attached to Sir George in early life. The following affecting inscription is preserved in Monteith's Theatre of Mortality, p. 54:

'Here lyeth Dame Margaret Scot, daughter to Walter Lord Buccleugh, and sister to Walter Scot Earl of Buccleugh. She was married to Sir George Sterline of Keir, knight, and chief of his name; and, having lived a pattern and paragon for piety and debonaritie beyond her sex and age, when she had accomplished seventeen years, she was called from this transitory life to that Eternal, 10th March 1633. She left behind her only one daughter, Margaret; who, in her pure innocency, soon followed her mother, the 11th day of May thereafter, when she had been twelve months showen to this world, and here lyeth near unto her interred. *Dominus Georgius Sterline, de Keir, Eques auratus, familiæ princeps, conjugi dulcissimæ poni curavit* 1633.'

Thus heavily had the chastening hand of God visited this young chief of 'ancient Keir,' when himself but eighteen years of age. The date upon the portrait now engraved is 1637, four years later than the tragedy recorded in the church of the Greyfriars of Edinburgh; and Sir George's age, also noted by Jameson on the portrait, was, at that time, only twenty-two

years. Some of the deeds of the marriage settlement upon Margaret Napier, his second wife, are among the Napier charters, and bear date 2d January 1637, the same year as the date on Sir George's portrait.

The portrait of Archibald, second Lord Napier, the nephew of Montrose, and brother to the lady of Keir, is from Lord Napier's gallery, and also by Jameson.

It will be seen that the fac-similes of royal letters, which add much to the interest of this work, have been selected as the best examples from the voluminous series contained in these MEMORIALS OF MONTROSE.

After the above had gone to press, the distribution of this volume was postponed by a circumstance which may be considered both fortunate and provoking. Among the splendid collection of Montrose's correspondence with the royal family, which composes Part VI., will be found, in their chronological order, ten letters to the hero, from the favourite sister of Charles I., the lively, witty, but unfortunate Queen of Bohemia; the same whose amiable qualities and beauty procured for her the romantic title of *Queen of Hearts*. In a volume of 'Literary Relics,' published by George Monck Berkeley, Esq., in 1792, these most interesting and characteristic letters, along with a few others to Montrose from

Charles II., and the Duke of York, were rudely printed, without any illustration. The volume is now scarcely known, and the letters in question had neither entered history nor biography. In a short preface, Mr Berkeley gives the following account of their acquisition by him.

'The letters of the three crowned heads were copied by a friend of mine from the originals; which, together with many others, were recently purchased from the widow of a respectable clergyman by the Marquis of Graham. Such of them as are now given to the public were copied before the originals were disposed of; and the reader will, I doubt not, join with me in regretting, that the friend to whom I am indebted for these did not take copies of more.'

Thus it appears that they had been acquired by the father of the present Duke of Montrose; and it was thought that they would be found still carefully preserved among the archives in the charter-room at Buchanan. No such papers, however, were known to exist there; and after repeated searches, at my own request, in consequence of the hint derived from Berkeley's Relics,—searches which produced some of the most interesting of the materials contained in the present volume,—it was reported to me, that those particular documents no longer existed there. Consequently, the ten letters from the Queen of Bohemia, two from Charles II., and three from his brother James, were reprinted in this volume from Berkeley's obscure collection, and illustrated,

and brought into chronological connection with the rest of Montrose's correspondence. In the notes, accordingly, will be found a reference to this Preface, where it was intended to give the above unsatisfactory account of the originals. Fortunately, however, before the volume was issued, the missing papers were accidentally discovered in some forgotten repository at Buchanan, and transmitted to me in time to report upon them here. Had these royal letters been discovered in time, they would have been printed for this work in their original orthography, which has been modernised in Berkeley's Relics. On strictly collating the text with the letters themselves, I find that they have been otherwise accurately printed by Mr Berkeley, with some few exceptions which I had detected before seeing the originals. A fac-simile has now been made for this Volume, of one of the Queen of Bohemia's letters, and one of the Duke of York's. That from her Majesty contains the characteristic sentence, in which she acknowledges Montrose's gift of his portrait, in these lively terms,—'I give you manie thankes for your picture; I have hung it in my cabinet, to fright away the brethern.' (p. 384.) That the identical portrait is now in possession of Mr Fox Maule, who kindly allowed it to be engraved for this work, seems sufficiently proved by what is stated in the Preface to Volume First. The true history of it was unknown to its fortunate possessor. I discovered, however, Gerard Honthorst's monogram upon the painting, and the date 1649, which, taken in

connection with the Queen's letter dated from the Hague in the same year, of which a fac-simile is now given (p. 384), removes all reasonable doubt on the subject. The Queen of Bohemia was the friend and munificent patroness of Honthorst, who attended her at the Hague; and Montrose would not have there presented her Majesty with his portrait drawn by any other hand than that of her favourite and domestic artist. There is no reason to suppose that he had painted two portraits of Montrose at the Hague in the same year; and although the remains of the Queen of Bohemia's collection, including some of the works of Honthorst, are yet preserved in the Craven family, that of the hero is not there to be found. The fact, then, can scarcely be doubted, that it has come to be possessed by the present Secretary at War.

Along with the royal letters now discovered, are various documents, principally in relation to Montrose's last expedition, and a few of earlier date. They appear to be some of those which had fallen into the hands of the Covenanters upon the occasion of the only two reverses which dimmed the lustre of his arms in Scotland. The royal commission investing him with the supreme command there, and the power to confer knighthood, which was brought to Montrose, after the battle of Kilsyth, from Charles I. by the Secretary, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, fell into the hands of the Covenanters when that excellent and innocent statesman was taken at Philiphaugh. It formed the excuse for his murder. That

very commission, signed by the King, and endorsed by his Secretary, is among the papers now discovered; nor is it difficult to conjecture how such documents should have found their way into the possession of 'the widow of a respectable clergyman.' There is noted on the envelope of the collection, in a comparatively modern hand,—'Letters, Commissions, and other papers in high and low Dutch, supposed to have been taken with Montrosse, or given by Montrosse at his death to Lord Wariston.' But this last is a very improbable and unnecessary conjecture. Montrose, ere he plunged into the wilds of Assynt, in the vain attempt to escape from his pursuers, had changed his dress with a peasant, and divested himself of every thing that might lead to discovery. Even the George and garter was hidden by him under a tree, and it is not to be supposed that he would have retained any papers about his person. Nor was Johnston of Warriston the man to whom the dying hero would have committed any such charge. He it was who read out to him, in the Parliament House, the sentence whose inhuman details have indelibly marked that Presbyterian Government with the stigma of an anti-christian and savage nature; and he it was who, in his characteristic temper composed of the fiendish, the hypocritical, and the crazy, when chiding his illustrious victim, in prison, for the care with which he was arranging that insignia of loyalty the flowing tresses, was met by the calm and contemptuous reply,—'My head is my own to-day, to-

morrow you may make of it what you please.' It is well known, however, that many of Montrose's private papers, especially a chestful which had been deposited by his principal officer, Sir John Hurry, in the stronghold of Dunbeath, in Caithness, were taken possession of by General David Leslie, after the disaster at Carbisdale. It is not a little remarkable that so many of these scattered and perishable records should have found their way back again to the archives of his family. I have now seen, in my researches through the confused and buried masses of the Montrose papers, the original of every commission granted to their devoted champion by Charles I. and Charles II., besides all the most important of the public instructions and private orders under which, and under which alone, his loyal career proceeded to its termination on the scaffold of the Covenant. The commissions themselves have not been printed in this work, as they would have occupied more space than could be spared; but ample evidence of the royal authority devolved upon Montrose is afforded by the letters and other documents which it contains.

This new discovery has also brought to light a more complete set of the papers connected with Montrose's energetic defence against the attempt to destroy him in 1641, under the violent accusation of a plot against the liberties of Scotland. About the close of the year 1639, and in the course of 1640, many circumstances concurred to compel the attention of Montrose to the fact that Argyle aimed at supreme power

in Scotland, to the exclusion of the King himself. Nor was he long in discovering that the royal Commissioner, Hamilton, instead of redeeming the affairs of his master, and of the Monarchy, was playing with equal meanness, but less ability, the like game for himself. This state of matters it was which dictated Montrose's lucubrations on Supreme Power (Number I., Part IV., p. 43), so severely pointed against ambitious nobles, and seditious preachers. There is no mistaking the objects of his indignant apostrophe, when in that letter (p. 52), he exclaims:—'And you great men, if any such be among you *who aim so high as the Crown*, do you think we are so far degenerated from the virtue, valour, and fidelity to our true and lawful Sovereign, so constantly entertained by our ancestors, as to suffer you, with all your policy, to reign over us? Take heed you be not Æsop's dog, and lose the cheese for the shadow in the well. And thou, *seditious preacher*, who studies to put sovereignty in the people's hands *for thy own ambitious ends*,—as being able, by thy wicked eloquence and hypocrisy, to infuse into them what thou pleases,—know this, that this People is more incapable of sovereignty than any other known: thou art abused like a pedant by the nimble witted nobleman: go, go along with *them* to shake the present government—not for thy ends, *to possess the People with it*,—but as a cunning tennis-player lets the ball go to the wall, where it cannot stay, that he may take it at the bound with more ease.' These prophetic sentiments

were all violently excited in the young nobleman, while struggling against the heady current of the Covenant, by the more than suspicious conduct of Hamilton and Argyle. A commission of fire and sword, against all the loyal and peaceable districts of Scotland, which the latter potentate had extorted from the government he ruled, his revolutionary scheme of 'encantoning' Scotland, into departments which were to be subservient to his dictatorship, his sinister addresses to the armed multitude of retainers who already regarded him as their only King, the treasonable language in which that military array publicly indulged, the new Bonds, or Covenants, in support of this scheme of ambition, which the Argyle clique had prepared, and which were pressed upon various noblemen for their signatures,—among others upon Montrose himself, who declared he would die ere he signed them,—all and more than this occasioned that determined effort of his, for King and Constitution, which was defeated as soon as attempted. It was mystified and rendered odious at the time by the monster process against the 'Plotters,' and is the foundation of that fama of treachery against Montrose with which subsequent history has been tainted and abused. His conversations with the loyal Earl of Athol, and the disloyal Lord Lindsay,—the former of whom was personally cognisant of Argyle's treasonable speeches to his soldiers at the ford of Lyon, and the latter, his confidant and emissary,—and, more especially, precise written information submitted to Montrose

by John Stewart of Ladywell, determined that honest and unflinching nobleman to bring the whole subject before the Parliament of Scotland in 1641, and to do his utmost endeavours to prevail upon his Majesty to be there in person. The result of this *Plot*, in which the true patriots fell, and the worst of factions triumphed, has been fully illustrated by the memorials which compose the last Part of the former volume. The miserable recantation of the poor laird of Ladywell, who owed his destruction very much to his own want of nerve, will there be found (Vol. I., p. 296.) Argyle had other mettle to deal with in Montrose. In the deadly and unscrupulous proceedings instantly got up against him, under the active management of that Secretary to Scotland's reign of terror, Johnston of Warriston, the extorted and contradictory declaration of John Stewart (Vol. I., p. 297), which he vainly imagined would purchase his reprieve from death, was put into process as evidence against the nobleman whom they sought to destroy. This was met by Montrose with a remonstrance which now for the first time reappears, being among the bundle of papers recently discovered at Buchanan. It forms Number I. of the Supplement printed at the end of this Volume, and will be found to contain some curious and graphic details. The date of it is the last day of February 1642. This was after the King had quitted Scotland, leaving behind him his own and Montrose's worst enemies triumphant, and that loyal nobleman in the very jaws of destruction. But his

lofty and uncompromising defence extricated him from the storm which his truly patriotic policy had raised; and the paper in question of itself affords evidence, that even when deprived of the protection of his royal master's presence, he continued to face his virulent opponents like a bated lion. While the whole of Scotland was quailing at the nod of Argyle, and the first scaffold of the Revolution was wet with the blood of its earliest victim, Stewart of Ladywell, put to death for having uttered unpleasant truths against that revolutionary chief,—Montrose, a state prisoner under his fiat, gives in a written remonstrance pointedly repeating those dangerous scandals, and founding upon them as his defence. In that struggle for political ascendancy he had been completely baffled and defeated. The question now was whether he would escape with his life. On the 25th of September 1641, before Charles had quitted Scotland, Sir Patrick Wemyss, then attending the King in Edinburgh, writes to the Marquis of Ormonde,—'His Majesty has engaged his royal promise to Montrose not to leave the kingdom till he comes to his trial; for if *he* leave him, *all the world will not save his life.*' Yet in the month of February thereafter, Charles having returned to England, the monster process is still being virulently pressed against his champion, who abates not one tittle of the fearlessness of his defence. It may be doubted if there was another man in Scotland at the time, who, under similar circumstances, would have dared to give in a written remon-

strance pointedly recalling attention to the very scandals against Argyle which had caused the death of John Stewart, —his tyrannical and unconstitutional commission, his oppression of the country of Athol, his vast revolutionary schemes, and the treasonable demeanour of his armed followers. It was a bold pleading at such a time, and before such a tribunal, pointedly to refer to his information regarding 'Argyle's speech at the ford of Lyon; and also another discourse of Argyle's at Balloch, affirming that his predecessors were Earls of Athol, and that *Argyle said he was the eighth man from Robert the Bruce:*' And 'how there were lines written in Irish [Erse] concerning Argyle, which he [Stewart] translated into these words,—*I gave Argyle the praise, because all men sees it is truth; for he will take gear from the lowland men, and he will take the Crown per force, and he will cry King at Whitsunday:*' And how 'the common soldiers of his army, wherever they came, said they were *King Campbell's* men, no more *King Stewart's:*' While the concluding paragraph of his fearless argument scarcely affects a disbelief of those treasonable intentions which such anecdotes were supposed to indicate. 'This confession,' he says, 'of Mr John Stewart, with all his other depositions taken in the said matter, Montrose earnestly desires that they may be narrowly considered; *that all the world may know* what *probable grounds he had*, to study and labour for establishing of the King's authority, and Liberties of the Country; and to obviate all *indirect practices;*

of which he had jealousies and presumptions, as may appear by all the passages, declarations, and depositions, that have been taken in this business from the beginning.'

Such was the *alpha* of Montrose's bloody struggle for the rights of the throne, and the liberties of his country. In the very same bundle of long lost records, reappear the relics of its *omega*. These, too, will be found in the Supplement. The letter to the gentlemen of Caithness is doubtless the last ever signed by the hand of Montrose.

MARK NAPIER.

6 Ainslie Place,
December 1850.

CONTENTS.

PART IV.

Page

INTRODUCTION [Refutation of the calumny that Montrose offered to commit assassination.] 1

ORIGINAL PAPERS ILLUSTRATING THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH MONTROSE JOINED THE KING AGAINST THE PARLIAMENT. 1640—1643.

I. Montrose on the Supreme Power in Government of all sorts . . 43
II. Axioms of Government from the Autograph of Archibald First Lord Napier. 1640 54
III. King Charles I. to Montrose, 7th May 1642 56
IV. Reasons of Montrose and his Friends for joining the King against the Parliament. 1642 57
V. Petition of Montrose and his Friends to the Council convened in Scotland, by order of his Majesty, on the 25th of May 1642 . . 60
VI. Another Petition to the same Effect 62
VII. King Charles I. to the Earl of Dunfermline, 23d July 1642 . . 64
VIII. King Charles I. to the Earl of Dunfermline, 29th July 1642 . . 66
IX. The Earl of Dunfermline to King Charles I., 5th August 1642 . 67
X. King Charles I. to the Earl of Dunfermline, 7th August 1642 . 69
XI. King Charles I. to Montrose, 27th August 1642 . . . 70
XII. Montrose to Graham of Craigo, 20th October 1642 . . . 71

Page

XIII. Commission from the Argyle Government to the Earl of Lothian, to negotiate their Interests with France 72
XIV. King Charles I. to the Earl of Dunfermline, 21st April 1643 . . 75
XV. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 31st May 1643 . . . 77

APPENDIX TO PART IV.

I. Bishop Burnet and the Rye-House Plot 79
II. A Calumny against King Charles I., arising out of the Scots Letter to the King of France, in 1639, traced to Bishop Burnet, and refuted 85
III. Montrose to King Charles I., 26th December 1639 . . . 102

PART V.

Introduction [Burnet refuted.—Montrose's Soliloquy at Selkirk.] . . 103

Original Papers illustrating the Exertions of Montrose in Support of King Charles I. and the Monarchy. 1643—1648.

I. Montrose's Bond at Oxford against the Solemn League and Covenant. 1643–4 119
II. Montrose to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, 13th March 1644 . . 122
III. John Macbrayre to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, 15th March 1644 . 124
IV. Depositions relating to Montrose's Military Operations in the North of England, and the South of Scotland, 1644—
1. Major John Erskine 127
2. Major Leslie 131
3. Lord Kirkcudbright, and Major James Leslie . . . 133
4. Captaine Johne M'Culloche 135
V. Montrose to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, 15th July 1644 . . 137
VI. Montrose to Ferdinand Lord Fairfax 138
VII. Ferdinand Lord Fairfax to the Earl of Leven, with Transcript of Montrose's Instructions to Lord Ogilvy 139
Instructions for the Lord Ogilvy 141

Page

VIII. Declaration by Montrose upon raising the Standard in Scotland, 1644 146
IX. Montrose to Argyle, 1644 147
X. Depositions before the Committee of Estates relating to the Battle of Tippermuir, and the taking of Perth by Montrose upon Sunday the 1st of September 1644—
1. The Master of Madertie 149
2. The Provost of Perth 152
3. The Sheriff-clerk of Perth 154
4. Sir John Graham of Braco 157
XI. Depositions and other Documents illustrating Montrose's movements with the Royal Army, from the Battle of Tippermuir to the Battle of Inverlochy—
1. Mr William Forrett 159
2. Proclamation by the King's Lieutenant, calling the Lieges to the Standard under pain of Fire and Sword . . 162
3. Excommunication of the King's Lieutenant by the Argyle Government, and Proclamation of a Reward for his Head 163
4. James Ramsay of Ogill 165
5. Sir William Forbes of Craigievar 167
6. The Master of Spynie 169
XII. Montrose's Bond to unite the Loyalty of the Highlands against the Power of Argyle, in 1645 172
XIII. Montrose to King Charles I., 3d February 1645 . . . 175
XIV. Montrose to Gordon of Buckie, 10th March 1645 . . . 180
XV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 24th March 1645 . . *ib.*
XVI. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 16th April 1645 . . . 181
XVII. A Pass from Montrose to a sick Irish Soldier, 26th April 1645 . 182
XVIII. Depositions of the Prisoners Captured by Sir John Hurry in the months of March and April 1645—
1. John Shephard 183
2. John Gordon 184
3. Donald M'Gregor . . . . . *ib.*
4. John M'Allane 185
5. Donald Gilmore . . . . . *ib.*
6. John Dairsie . . . . . *ib.*
7. Angus M'Queen 186

Page

8. John Douglas 187
9. James Low 188
10. Thomas Leyes . . . . . *ib.*
11. George Lobane 189
12. Alexander M'Call . . . . . *ib.*
13. Duncan Gilmour 190
14. Hugh M'Vayne . . . . . *ib.*
15. John M'Murrie 191
16. Cormack M'Iver 192
17. Ninian Stewart . . . . . *ib.*

XIX. Orders of the Committee of Estates as to the Custody of Robert Graham, the youngest Son of Montrose, 19th and 31st April 1645 193

XX. Deposition before the Committee of Estates of Alexander Herries, relating to the Escape of Aboyne from the Castle of Carlisle, on the 14th of April 1645, to join Montrose 194

XXI. Deposition of Captain James Ogilvy relating to the Escape of the Master of Napier to join Montrose in the month of April 1645 199

XXII. Proceedings of the Committee of Estates against Dame Margaret Napier, Lady Stirling of Keir 201

XXIII. Montrose to Gordon of Buckie, 10th May 1645 . . . 203

XXIV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 27th May 1645 . . . 204

XXV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 6th June 1645 . . . 205

XXVI. Lord Glamis to his Brother, 10th June 1645 . . . 206

XXVII. Orders and Proceedings of the Committee of Estates against the near relatives of Montrose, during the months of April, May, June, and July 1645 207

XXVIII. Lord Napier to Lord Balmerino, 3d June 1645 . . . 212

XXIX. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 6th July 1645 . . . 214

XXX. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 3d August 1645 . . . 215

XXXI. Parliamentary Proceedings relating to Montrose's Family, in the months of July and August 1645—

1. Act for Liberatione of Archibald Lord Naper . . 216
2. Act for Liberatione of the Mistres of Naper . . 218
3. Ordinance for Liberatione of James Grahame . . 219
4. Act for the Enlargement of the Laird of Keir . . 220

XXXII. Montrose to the Town of Glasgow, immediately after the Battle of Kilsyth, 15th August 1645 222

Page

XXXIII. Orders from Montrose, after the Battle of Kilsyth, to Proclaim a Parliament at Linlithgow, and Summon the Town of Edinburgh, 20th August 1645 223

XXXIV. Protection by Montrose to the Town of Edinburgh, 23d August 1645 224

XXXV. Correspondence between Montrose and Drummond of Hawthornden, after the Battle of Kilsyth . . . . . *ib.*

XXXVI. Petition from Helen Ogilvy, Lady Ogilvy, in favour of her Husband, James Lord Ogilvy, 7th August 1645 227

XXXVII. Montrose to Lord Ogilvy, 28th August 1645 . . . 229

XXXVIII. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 1st September 1645 . . *ib.*

XXXIX. Orders from Montrose to the Town of Aberdeen, 2d September 1645 230

XL. Montrose to the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvy, 2d September 1645 231

XLI. King Charles I. to Montrose, 9th September 1645 . . *ib.*

XLII. Sir Robert Spottiswoode to Lord Digby, 10th September 1645 . 233

XLIII. Lord Ogilvy to the Earl of Aboyne [September 1645] . . 234

XLIV. Montrose to Stewart of Sheirglas, 17th September 1645 . . 236

XLV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 2d October 1645 . . 237

XLVI. Montrose to the Marquis of Huntly, 7th October 1645 . . *ib.*

XLVII. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 25th October 1645 . . 238

XLVIII. The Gordons to Montrose, [October 1645] 240

XLIX. Testimonial to David Lesly from the Committee of the Estates of Scotland, 30th October 1645 241

L. King Charles I. to Montrose, 3d November 1645 . . . 242

LI. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 9th November 1645 . . 243

LII. Montrose to the Marquis of Huntly, [November 1645] . . 244

LIII. Petitions from the Kirk to the Estates against Mercy to the Noblemen and Gentlemen captured at Philiphaugh, 5th December 1645—

1. The humble Remonstrance of the Commission of the Generall Assemblie 245
2. The humble Remonstrance of the Synod of Merce and Teviotdale, convened at Jedburgh, October 24, 1645 . . 247
3. The humble Petition of the Synod of Galloway . . 248
4. The humble Supplication of the Provinciall Assembly of Fife, convened at Kircaldie in October 1645, formerly presented to the Committee of Estates . . . 250

Page

LIV. Reply of the Estates to the Petitions of the Kirk, 26th December 1645 and 2d January 1646 251
LV. Declaration by Sir Robert Spottiswoode from the Castle of St Andrews, 2d January 1646 253
LVI. Sir Robert Spottiswoode to Montrose, 19th January 1646 . 254
LVII. Further Proceedings by the Committee of Estates against the Relatives and Friends of Montrose, 1645–6—
1. Harry Graham 256
2. Warrand in favors of Johne Naper 257
3. Ordinance anent James Ogilvie his escape . . . 258
4. Reference in favors of Lilias Naper . . . 259
LVIII. Ten Letters from Montrose to Huntly relative to the Conduct of the War in the months of December, January, and February, 1645–6 260
LIX. Montrose to Maclean of Coll, 20th January 1646 . . . 269
LX. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 8th February 1646 . . . *ib.*
LXI. James Kennedy, Montrose's Secretary, to Robertson of Inver, 8th February 1646 270
LXII. Montrose to the Earl of Aboyne, 15th March 1646 . . 272
LXIII. King Charles I. to Montrose, 18th April 1646 . . . 274
LXIV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 20th April 1646 . . . 276
LXV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver . . . . . *ib.*
LXVI. King Charles I. to Montrose, 19th May 1646 . . . 277
LXVII. Montrose to King Charles I., 2d June 1646 . . . 278
LXVIII. King Charles I. to Montrose, 15th June 1646 . . . 279
LXIX. Montrose to the Tutor of Strowan, 10th June 1646 . . 281
LXX. King Charles I. to Montrose, 16th July 1646 . . . 282
LXXI. King Charles I. to Montrose, 21st August 1646 . . . 283
LXXII. Robert Napier of Culereuch to his Nephew, Archibald Second Lord Napier, 31st May 1646 284
LXXIII. Sir Thomas Hope, his Majesty's Advocate, to King Charles I., 23d June 1646 288
LXXIV. Montrose to Robert Graham of Carnee, 26th July 1646 . . 291
LXXV. Archibald Second Lord Napier to King Charles I., 28th July 1646 292
LXXVI. Order of the Committee of Estates in favour of Archibald Second Lord Napier, 23d October 1646 293
LXXVII. The Honourable Lilias Napier to Sir George Stirling of Keir, 6th November 1646 . . . . . *ib.*

Page

LXXVIII. Papers relating to the Sale of King Charles I. by the Covenanters, November and December 1646 294
LXXIX. King Charles I. to Montrose, 21st January 1647 . . . 299
LXXX. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 5th February 1647 . . 300
LXXXI. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 12th February 1647 . 301
LXXXII. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 15th March 1647 . . 302
LXXXIII. King Charles I. to Montrose, 19th June 1647 . . . 303
LXXXIV. Montrose to Sir George Stirling of Keir, 26th July 1647 . . 304
LXXXV. Lord Erskine to Sir George Stirling of Keir, 16th December 1647 305
LXXXVI. Archibald Second Lord Napier to Lady Elizabeth Erskine, Lady Napier, 14th June 1648 306

APPENDIX TO PART V.

I. Extracts from the Register of the Presbytery of Perth, as transcribed by the Rev. James Scott, MS. Advocates' Library. Proceedings of the Presbytery after the Battle of Tippermuir . . 312
II. Proclamation by Montrose after the Battle of Kilsyth . . 318
III. Declarations of certain Synods against Montrose . . . 320
IV. List of Protections and Passes granted by Montrose after the Battle of Kilsyth 325

PART VI.

Introduction [Refutation of Burnet and Clarendon's calumnies against Montrose.] 333

Correspondence between Montrose and the Exiled Members of the Royal Family, illustrating his Exertions to Restore the Monarchy. 1648—1650.

I. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 7th September 1648 . . . 355
II. Prince Rupert to Montrose, 20th September 1648 . . 356
III. The Duke of York to Montrose, 11th September 1648 . . 357
IV. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 7th October 1648 . . . *ib.*

		Page
V.	Prince Rupert to Montrose, 13th October 1648	358
VI.	Prince Rupert to Montrose, 17th November 1648	*ib.*
VII.	Montrose to Prince Rupert, 3d December 1648	359
VIII.	Prince Rupert to Montrose, 6th December 1648	360
IX.	Montrose to Prince Rupert, 14th December 1648	361
X.	Montrose to Prince Rupert, [December 1648]	362
XI.	Prince Rupert to Montrose	363
XII.	Montrose to Prince Rupert, 8th January 1649	*ib.*
XIII.	The Prince of Wales to Montrose, 20th January 1649	364
XIV.	Montrose to the Prince of Wales, 28th January 1649	365
XV.	The Chancellor Hyde to Montrose, 20th January 1649	366
XVI.	Montrose to the Chancellor Hyde, 28th January 1649	367
XVII.	Montrose on the Murder of King Charles I., 1649	368
XVIII.	Montrose to Chancellor Hyde, 15th February 1649	369
XIX.	Montrose to Chancellor Hyde, [February 1649]	370
XX.	Montrose to Prince Rupert, 27th February 1649	371
XXI.	Montrose to Prince Rupert, 8th March 1649	*ib.*
XXII.	Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 10th March 1649	372
XXIII.	Prince Rupert to Montrose, 1st April 1649	373
XXIV.	Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 22d April 1649	*ib.*
XXV.	Commissioners of the Kirk to Charles II., 9th April 1649	374
XXVI.	Montrose to Charles II., 21st May 1649	376
XXVII.	King Charles II. to Montrose, 22d June 1649	383
XXVIII.	The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 24th June 1649	384
XXIX.	The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 3d July 1649	385
XXX.	Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 22d July 1649	386
XXXI.	The Duke of York to Montrose, 23d July 1649	387
XXXII.	The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 1st–11th August 1649	388
XXXIII.	The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 4–14th August 1649	389
XXXIV.	Montrose to the Earl of Seaforth, 15th August 1649	390
XXXV.	The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 2d–12th September 1649	391
XXXVI.	King Charles II. to Montrose, 5th September 1649	392
XXXVII.	King Charles II. to Montrose, 19th September 1649	393
XXXVIII.	The Earl of Kinnoul to Montrose, September 1649	394
XXXIX.	The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 2d October 1649	397
XL.	The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 5–15th October 1649	399
XLI.	Montrose to the Earl of Seaforth, 27th October 1649	400
XLII.	Montrose to ———, 3d November 1649	401
XLIII.	The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 19–29th November 1649	402

Page

XLIV. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 1st December 1649 . . 403
XLV. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 9th December 1649 . . 404
XLVI. Montrose to the Earl of Seaforth, 15th December 1649 . . 405
XLVII. Dr Wishart to Archibald second Lord Napier, 1st January 1650 . 406
XLVIII. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 7th January 1650 . . 409
XLIX. King Charles II. to Montrose, 12–22d January 1650 . . 410
L. King Charles II. to Montrose 411
LI. The Duke of York to Montrose, 16–26th January 1650 . . 413
LII. Thomas Ogilvy to Montrose . . . . . *ib.*
LIII. Montrose to the Earl of Seaforth, 26th March 1650 . . 415
LIV. King Charles II. to Archibald second Lord Napier, 15th April 1650 416

APPENDIX TO PART VI.

Sir John Cochran to Montrose, 3d December 1649 . . 417

PART VII.

INTRODUCTION [Lord Mahon corrected as to Montrose's dying speech.] . 421

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS ILLUSTRATING THE LAST MOMENTS AND DEATH OF MONTROSE. 1650.

I. Extracts from the Fraser Manuscript 433
II. Relation of the Death of Montrose, written from Edinburgh to London by an Eyewitness, 21st May 1650 447
III. King Charles II. to James Second Marquis of Montrose, 8th June 1650 450

APPENDIX TO PART VII.

I. Intercession of France to save the Life of Montrose . . 451
II. Modern Errors as to the Place of Montrose's Execution . . 452
III. The Heart of Montrose 454
IV. The Poetry of Montrose 460

SUPPLEMENT OF PAPERS RECENTLY DISCOVERED.

I. Answers to Mr Johne Stewart's Deposition, in so far as the samyn concerns the Erle of Montrois, 28th February 1642 . . 475
II. Orders for Generall Major Sir John Hurry . . . 478
III. For the Gentlemen and Heritours of the Shirreffdom of Cathnesse 479
IV. Copy of the oath signed by the Englishmen, the 27 of March at Kirkwall, 1650 480

PORTRAITS AND FACSIMILES ILLUSTRATING THESE VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

1. Portrait of Montrose, *Ætatis* 17, *anno* 1629, Frontispiece.
2. Montrose's Petition to the Parliament, 25th August 1641, to front p. 314.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Portraits.

1. Portrait of Montrose, G. Honthorst, 1649, Frontispiece.
2. Portrait of Dame Margaret Napier, Lady Stirling of Keir, to front p. 201.
3. Portrait of Sir George Stirling of Keir, to front p. 304.
4. Portrait of Archibald Second Lord Napier, to front p. 307.

Facsimiles.

1. Letter from King Charles I. to Montrose, 7th May 1642, to front p. 56.
2. Orders from Montrose to the Master of Napier, 20th August 1645, to front p. 223.
3. Letter from King Charles I. to Montrose, 21st August 1646, to front p. 283.
4. Letter from King Charles I. to Montrose, 19th June 1647, to front p. 303.
5. Letter from Prince Rupert to Montrose, 13th October 1648, to front p. 358.
6. Letter from the Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 24th June 1649, to front p. 384.
7. Letter from Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 22d July 1649, to front p. 386.
8. Letter from King Charles II. to Montrose, 19th September 1649, to front p. 393.
9. Letter from King Charles II. to Montrose, 12–22d January 1650, to front p. 410.
10. Letter from the Duke of York to Montrose, 16-26th January 1650, to front p. 413.
11. Letter from King Charles II. to James Second Marquis of Montrose, 8th June 1650, to front p. 450.

ERRATA.

Page 88, line 17, *for* Sir Thomas, *read* Sir Philip.
96, The circumflex in the middle of line 24, should be at the end of line 23.
365, 1, *for* 20th January, *read* 28th January.
394, 1, *for* September 1650, *read* September 1649.
399, 19, *for* October 1640, *read* October 1649.

MEMORIALS

OF

MONTROSE AND HIS TIMES.

MEMORIALS

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PART IV.

When the unconstitutional proceedings, of which the original records have been collected in Part III., came to this anomalous conclusion, that the persecuted were found innocent, and declared so by the King, while the persecutors were left triumphant and rewarded, Montrose and his fellow sufferers retired for a time into private life. Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall does not re-appear. The political notoriety of that loyal Lord of Council and Session, ceased with the conclusion of the process against 'the Plotters,' early in the year 1642. Montrose, Napier, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, bound together by the closest ties of relationship, and community of feeling, were, during that eventful year, constantly together in each other's houses in the country. There they still cherished those conservative plans, which had brought them into trouble in the former year, and soon brought them again upon the stage of the commotions.

But is it the case, that Montrose retired at this time with a stain upon his character so foul, that neither his victories nor his death would have sufficed to redeem it? Had he, at the most dangerous crisis of that persecution, while his own life hung upon a thread, while in the custody of a jailer who seemed to be but waiting for the order to hand him to the executioner,—had he even then found an opportunity to insult his Sovereign, whose hand was yet trembling from its signature of the death-warrant of Strafford, with an offer to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle, which caused him, it is said, to recoil with horror? Upon the 27th of July 1641, immediately before his Majesty arrived, Montrose, summoned to compear by the Covenanting Parliament, in 'the place of delinquents,' and expecting to be tried for his life, addressed his judges in these remarkable words:—'My RESOLUTION IS TO CARRY ALONG WITH ME FIDELITY AND HONOUR TO THE GRAVE.'[1] This was no rhetorical flourish. The bold words were uttered in a very deliberate and dignified speech, and with direct reference, not merely to the dishonest persecution under which he was then suffering, but to the faithlessness which characterised both the private and public transactions of those times. It was that same feeling which elicited the expressions from his muse,—

'When all turn merchants of their faith, none trusts what other says;'—

and it was the detection of that fatal characteristic, in men of the highest rank and most implicit trust with the King, which had so strongly im-

[1] See the Wigton Papers, edited by Mr Dennistoun for the Maitland Club Miscellany, vol. ii.. p. 428. As the entire speech is there printed, from a contemporary MS. in the Cumbernauld charter-chest, it was thought unnecessary to reprint it in this collection for the same Club. Its proper chronological place, among the documents connected with 'the Plot,' would have been, immediately after No. XXIII. of Part III.

pressed itself upon the minds of this family party of Conservatives, and foreshadowed to them the ruin of the best intentioned, and worst guided of Monarchs. '*Sit Bonus, Sapiens, Cautus, Decipitur Imperator.*'[1] In that speech to the Parliament, Montrose also utters the sentiment, that 'as TRUTH does not seek corners, it needeth no favour.' This high-minded disposition had attracted attention from various quarters, throughout the whole of his career. At the very commencement of his covenanting zeal, when he had placed himself under the orders of Rothes, the father of the Covenant, that nobleman applies to him a phrase altogether unsuitable for the occasion, but which was a spontaneous compliment to the real character of the hero. On his first mission to concuss the loyalists of Aberdeen, he is recommended to them, by the chief of the Leslies, not as a godly and gifted servant of the Lord (the usual phraseology of the Covenant), but in these singular terms of commendation: 'And attend my Lord Montrose, WHO IS A NOBLE AND TRUE-HEARTED CAVALIER.'[2] Again, after the King left Scotland at the close of the year 1641, he wrote the letters to Montrose contained in Parts III. and IV. of these Memorials, dated in the year 1642, all of which indicate the Monarch's sense of the honour of that true-hearted cavalier. In the letter, No. III. of the following series, he addresses him thus: 'MONTROSE,—I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service. Duty and loyalty are

[1] See Appendix to Part I., p. 69, where Lord Napier applies that quotation, from Vopiscus, to the shameless manner in which a few Scottish noblemen abused the King's ear, in reference to the affairs of Scotland.

[2] Rothes to his cousin Patrick Leslie, Provost of Aberdeen, in a letter dated 13th July 1638, and written 'because your town of Aberdeen is now the only burgh in Scotland that hath not subscribed the Confession of Faith.' The distinctive terms, *Cavalier* and *Roundhead*, were scarcely established at this time. It is curious to find the former term so emphatically applied to Montrose, at a time when he least of all deserved it, in the now historical sense.

sufficient to A MAN OF SO MUCH HONOUR AS I KNOW YOU TO BE.' Such, indeed, came to be his European reputation. About a twelvemonth before his death, he is thus reported from the Hague, in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas, dated 16th March 1649: 'It is *the opinion and wishes of all men*, that his Majesty would employ him [Montrose], as THE MAN OF THE CLEAREST HONOUR, courage, and affection to his service.'[1]

We recur, then, to the question: Had Montrose, between the dates 27th July 1641, when he declared to the Parliament that his resolution was to carry along with him fidelity and honour to the grave, and the 7th of May 1642, when Charles so pointedly intimates, to Montrose himself, his *own knowledge* of that nobleman's honour,—had he, during the short interval between these dates, privately offered to the King his personal services to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle? The great name of Clarendon has been eagerly seized as the authority for turning this impossible story into a page of the History of Scotland. It is destroyed by what is stated above. But these records of Montrose would be incomplete without a more detailed detection of so calumnious a fable.[2]

The *contemporary* Covenanting records contain no such accusation against Montrose. Baillie, though himself the eulogist of assassination when employed in 'the Cause,'[3] would very properly have denounced it

[1] Extract from a letter of that date, from the Hague, to Secretary Nicholas at Caen, on his way to Holland, and which the Secretary incloses to the Marquis of Ormonde: (Carte's Ormonde Papers, vol. i. p. 232). The Secretary's correspondent, whose name is not given, might very possibly be Clarendon himself, who was then at the Hague. At any rate, it spoke the sentiments of Clarendon. It is interesting to observe, that the date of the above character of Montrose is about the time, and from the place, of the painting of that portrait of him which forms the frontispiece to this volume, and is described in the Preface to these Memorials.

[2] It has been adopted by Acherley, Oldmixon, Laing, Brodie, D'Israeli, &c.

[3] See vol. i. Part III. p. 233.

in Montrose. This chronicler's voluminous correspondence contains not a whisper of such an accusation, against the object of his mingled invectives and admiration. Yet he records minutely the proceedings against Montrose at that very period. Sir James Balfour, hostile and generally unjust to Montrose, in like manner has noted all the particulars of his movements and demeanour while the King was in Scotland; but the idea of so foul a charge had never crossed the imagination of Balfour. From him we only learn, that the persecuted nobleman had contrived, during the King's stay, to correspond with Charles by letter,—that the fact was immediately known to his jailors, if they had ever been ignorant of it,—that the correspondence was instantly and strictly investigated,—and that not an accusation of the most shadowy kind could be extracted therefrom, to be added to those *quisquilias volantes et venti spolia*,[1] of which the libel then in hand against him was composed. His criminal prosecution was continued after the King had left Scotland: yet neither in the libel, nor in any other shape, was such an accusation preferred. The King, moreover, ere he quitted Scotland, laid before a Committee of the House all that had then passed between himself and Montrose. These covenanting committees could extract no more from the discovery than that the following words occurred in a letter to his Majesty, which they ordained Montrose to explain:—'That he [Montrose] would particularly acquaint his Majesty with a business which not only did concern his honour in a high degree, but the standing and falling of his Crown likewise.'[2] The very expressions used in

[1] See Montrose's Protestation, vol. i. p. 366.

[2] The Montrose Papers, compared with the contemporary chroniclers, leave no doubt that these expressions refer to Montrose's belief, verified in the sequel, that it was the systematic design of the Argyle party to strip the King of his prerogatives, and virtually to deprive him of his crown in Scotland. While so careful of the King's *honour*, would he, at the same time, have proposed assassination?

this letter are inconsistent with the accusation in question, which involves the grossest outrage upon the honour of the King. Montrose thus answered the requisition: 'He said, what his meaning was he had already declared to his Majesty and the Committee from the Parliament, on Saturday last, at Holyroodhouse; he further declared, that thereby he neither did intend, neither could or would he wrong any particular person whatsomever.'[1] This occurred in the month of November 1641, when, as some historians have assumed, Montrose had insulted his Sovereign with that most revolting proposition, at the very crisis of this investigation.

When Montrose and most of his generation were gone, and the floods of the troubles had subsided, and the ark of the State was at rest, there arose a Bishop who, with such historical principle as might animate a scavenger, raked in the deposit, and called his compost History. In that history, he characterises Montrose as a fool, a madman, and even as a coward,—but not as an assassin.[2] Burnet had never heard the story. Yet Burnet was the biographer and apologist of Hamilton, whom Montrose is said to have offered to assassinate with his own hand. The apology for the Hamiltons was published in 1677. Burnet died in 1714, and the History of his Own Times appeared after his death. We cannot give the Bishop credit for having heard the story, and rejected it. From the Hamilton archives, Lord Hardwicke, in 1778, published his collection of State Papers, among which is 'A Relation of the Incident, 1641, by Lord Lanerick,' the brother of Hamilton. In this

[1] Consult Balfour's Annals, A.D. 1641, for the details of these transactions, and for the extraordinary and very equivocal part which was acted in them by 'little Will. Murray of the Bed-chamber.' See them also sifted in 'Montrose and the Covenanters,' vol. i. chapters v. and vi.

[2] His Own Times, vol. i. pp. 53, 54, 70, 71.

paper he affords all the information of which he was possessed, on the subject of that pretended plot 'to cut the throats both of Argyle, my brother, and myself.' But he never hints a suspicion against Montrose, nor alludes to the story in question, nor names him throughout his narrative. From all this we may infer, that Hamilton himself never knew of such an accusation against Montrose. Throughout the whole period between the victories of Montrose in 1644-5, and his death in 1650, there was an incessant storm of the most virulent invective against him raised by the clergy of the Covenant, under the orders of Argyle and Johnston of Warriston. The story in question would have been invaluable to these covenanting philippics. Burnet himself had searched that rubbish, without finding a trace of it. When, in 1661, the day of reckoning arrived for Argyle, and his state offences were recorded against him in a criminal libel, he was charged, *inter alia*, as follows:—'And his Majesty, trusting to the fidelity, the loyalty, and good affection of his other good subjects, having, notwithstanding the said hard and unjust conditions, resolved to cast himself upon the loyalty and affections of his other good and faithful subjects, you [Argyle] to obstruct his Majesty's purpose and resolution, yea, and so far as in you lay, to fright and terrify him therefrom by your and your complices' cruel execution upon the Marquis of Montrose, his Majesty's Commissioner, and who represented his person in his said ancient kingdom, caused to be most horribly and inhumanly murthered the said Marquis, at the market cross, upon the [21] day of [May] 1650, with all the circumstances of disgrace and dishonour; which so much reflected upon his Majesty's person, dignity, and authority, and upon the honour of all true nobility, and are so recent and fresh, with detestation, in the memories of all good subjects and generous spirits, at home and abroad, that it is not fit

to be mentioned or repeated here.'[1] But if such a story had ever transpired, as that Montrose himself, upon a former occasion, offered the King his services to assassinate Argyle with his own hand, this count would scarcely have been admitted into Argyle's indictment, nor would it have passed without a *quid pro quo* in Argyle's defences. From all this we may also infer that Argyle himself never knew of such an accusation against Montrose. Where, then, does it first appear?

Clarendon, in one of his earliest and crudest manuscripts, unfortunately had left this passage:—'But now, after his Majesty arrived in Scotland [1641,] by the introduction of Mr William Murray of the bedchamber, he [Montrose] *came privately to the King*, and informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the Rebellion, and that the Marquis of Hamilton was no less faulty and false towards his Majesty than Argyle, and offered to make proof of all in the Parliament, but rather desired *to kill them both, which he frankly undertook to do;* but the King, *abhorring that expedient,* for his own security advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament. When suddenly, on a Sunday morning, the city of Edinburgh was in arms, and Hamilton and Argyle both gone out of the town to their own houses, where they stood upon their guard, declaring publicly, that they had withdrawn themselves because they knew there was a design to assassinate them; and chose rather to absent themselves, than, by standing upon their defence in Edinburgh (which they could not well have done), to hazard the public peace and security of the Parliament, which thundered in their behalf.'[2]

[1] Indictment against Argyle, 1661.

[2] The above is from the edition of Clarendon's History (vol. ii. p. 17.) published in 1826, with the suppressed passages restored. In the former edition, given to the public by Clarendon's sons, the words, 'to kill them both,' had been by them altered thus,—'to have them both made away.'

Any one who has looked into the history of the King's visit to Scotland in 1641, may at once detect in the above passage a confusion worse confounded of that political mystification which obtained the name of 'the Incident.'[1] At the very time when Montrose and his friends were so anxiously petitioning the Parliament for an immediate trial, in presence of their Sovereign, and when the dishonest clamour against 'the Plot' was becoming somewhat flimsy and stale, a fresh impetus was given to the agitation of the public mind, by a sudden alarm that some desperate characters were hatching a scheme to murder, or to remove by violence (for the rumour was scarcely tangible in detail), Argyle, Hamilton, and his brother Lanerick. This was vaguely mingled with

[1] Reasons will be given *infra* for the belief that Clarendon, subsequent to the period when he had noted this ignorant and ridiculous anecdote, had obtained more accurate information of these secret transactions in Scotland, both from the King and from Montrose. Consequently, that had he lived to publish his own History, the passage in the text would never have appeared. William Murray of the Bed-chamber was *the nephew* of Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven, whose deposition is given in Part III. Moreover, he is that bed-chamber man of whom Guthry affords this information (page 117):—'Montrose, professing to have *certain knowledge thereof*, affirmed he was the man who, in October 1640, sent to Newcastle the copies of his letters, which he had written to the King, then at York: and *it was no secret* that in the year 1641, when his Majesty was in Scotland, he did, by his uncle, the Provost of Methven, correspond with his enemies, and reveal his purposes to them.' Guthry is confirmed in this by a letter addressed to the King, from the General Assembly, immediately after he had left Scotland, in which they 'entreat that your Majesty may be pleased to lay upon him [Murray] the charge of the agenting of the affairs of the Kirk about your Majesty;' and the reason assigned is, 'of whose faithful service your Majesty has had long proof, and of whose abilities and *good affection* we have experience this time [1641–2] in the public affairs of the Kirk.' To this unblushing effrontery of the faction the King is so blinded as to yield. See the document quoted, p. 99, vol. i. Montrose and the Covenanters. Baillie also corresponded with Murray, signing himself 'your loving friend *and agent*, R. B.' And this is the King's servant, *by whose introduction*, it is said, Montrose communicated his proposition to assassinate two noblemen.

dark hints that the King himself was a party to this desperate plot against these noblemen, the chief of whom had reclined in his bosom for years, and had been protected against many direct accusations. There is not, perhaps, in history a more affecting picture than that which Sir James Balfour (an eye-witness) affords of the demeanour of the harassed and insulted Monarch, when, 'with tears in his eyes, and, as it seemed, in a very great grief,' he announced to the covenanting Parliament that Hamilton had fled from his side, on the pretext that he was not in a place of safety there. 'If I had believed,' said Charles, 'the reports of those of nearest respect and greatest trust about me, long before now, of him, I had greater reasons than now to have laid him fast; but not only did I then slight all such reports, but in the face of them, took him by the hand, and maintained him against them all; neither did I think that he could have found, if any such thing [as the alleged plot] had been, *a surer sanctuary than my bed-chamber.*'[1] In this new plot, however, even the Earl of Lanerick, in his account of it, does not pretend that Montrose was involved at all; neither is his name mentioned in the proceedings in Parliament on the subject; nor does it add a new count to his indictment. It will be observed that a slight passing allusion to it occurs in his Protestation; and, manifestly, it is a notice by one who treated the new incident with most sceptical contempt, and perfect indifference. Complaining of the continual postponement of his trial, he

[1] Balfour's Annals. vol. iii., pp. 95, 96. This was a most affecting and cutting allusion to the occasion when the King had saved this favourite's reputation and life, under a serious charge of a design against his Majesty, by ordering him to sleep that night within the bedchamber. The only coherent account, of the false and fraudulent alarm of the Incident, is that by Lanerick, printed in the Hardwicke Papers, from the Hamilton archives, as mentioned above. He appears to have been duped by it; but the story, even as told by him, bears absurdity on the face of it.

says:—'Yet, notwithstanding all our most impatient earnestness, used as it may perhaps seem *tempore non satis opportuno*, some new *incidents*, as they term them, having divers times fallen, our instant supplications and prayers were never yet heard.' (Vol. i. p. 366.)

To recur, then, to the passage from Clarendon, it is obviously an ignorant jumble of two contemporary events, 'the Plot,' of which Montrose was the hero, and 'the Incident,' in which he was not accused. Moreover, it must have been noted by Clarendon at a time when he was not even so well informed as to know that Montrose was at that crisis a state prisoner, waiting to be tried for his life. This last circumstance sufficed for David Hume. Scarcely pausing to consider the ridiculous accusation, and brushing it like an insect from the sleeve of History, he thought to crush it by this simple note: 'It is not improper to take notice of a mistake committed by Clarendon, much to the disadvantage of this gallant nobleman, that he offered the King, when his Majesty was in Scotland, to assassinate Argyle. All the time the King was in Scotland, Montrose was confined to prison.' (Hist., vol. vii. p. 44.) In defence of Clarendon, however, it must be observed, that he himself never gave to the world, as history, a passage which stands in direct opposition to his own subsequent and deliberate estimate of the heroic Montrose. It seems to be part of some early and crude materials which Clarendon had collected for his own Life. The recent edition of his works, moreover, reveals a fact very important to the present inquiry. By some confusion in the manuscripts, and some deplorable mismanagement in their preparation for the press, the crude and calumnious passage had been transposed, by a secretary, from the original manuscript of *the Life* into a new but rough transcript of *the History*, which transcript Clarendon did not live to correct; while another passage, relating to the

same transactions, which belonged to *Clarendon's manuscript of the History*, and by which manifestly he had superseded the former account, was not only excluded, but entirely suppressed. It has now, indeed, been restored, but only in the appendix to the edition of 1826; while the faulty passage, which Clarendon himself would never have published, actually retains its place in the text. But this suppressed passage, being *the true history* thus elbowed out of the text, is not only fuller in its narrative of the transactions connected with the King's visit to Scotland in 1641, but it is substantially accurate, and will stand the test of comparison with the secret history of Scottish affairs that has been discovered since. It avoids the mistakes of the other passage; for it mentions that Montrose was *under restraint*, and the causes of that restraint—information which must have been obtained subsequently to the period when the passage retained in the text had been noted. Indeed it would have been surprising had the same ignorance appeared in the restored passage contained in the appendix; for it is expressly founded upon what, says Clarendon, 'the King hath told me,' and what 'I have heard the Earl of Montrose say.' And, after a much more particular account of the Plot and the Incident than is found in the former narrative,—but without a hint of Montrose having at this time made any proposition whatever to his Majesty touching Hamilton and Argyle,—Clarendon adds, 'Whatever was in this business, and I could never *discover more* than what I have *here set down*, though the King himself told me all that he knew of it, as I verily believe, it had a strange influence at Westminster, and served to contribute to all the *senseless fears they thought fit to put on*.'[1]

[1] See Edition of Clarendon's Works, 1826, vol. ii. App. B. referred to p. 13 of that vol.; and the Advertisement at the end of vol. i. Mr D'Israeli (Commentaries, vol. iv., p. 322), not attending to the history and structure of the two passages, has framed his

Having exonerated the great historian, we must arraign a minor one, of no small account, however, in Scotland.

'According to Clarendon, Montrose, by the introduction of Murray of the bed-chamber, was admitted privately to the King, informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the Rebellion (to which, as a member of the Committee of Estates, he was necessarily privy), asserted, and offered to prove in Parliament, that Hamilton was not less faulty and false than Argyle, but *rather advised* that they should both be *assassinated*, which, with his usual frankness, he undertook to execute. As Montrose *was then in prison*, the interview was obtained indirectly, through the intervention of Cochrane; but Clarendon's information is *otherwise correct*. The *assassination* of Argyle and Hamilton was *characteristical of Montrose*.'[1]

This passage is utterly disgraceful to Malcolm Laing. He tells us himself, that 'the manuscript materials employed in this history, are chiefly derived from the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, to which I enjoy a professional access.' There, this historical antiquary was surrounded with the most ample materials for refuting the foul calumny with which he blots his page. He must have known, from the manuscripts which he was handling, and very partially extracting, how strictly at that time Montrose was confined, and how closely

chapter of the Incident upon an indiscriminate consideration of them both. Hence he seems to have assumed that Charles himself told Clarendon the *anecdote of assassination*, and that, consequently, it is not to be doubted. He blends together both accounts, and then speaks of 'that *frank offer of assassination*, which the daring and vindictive Montrose would not have hesitated *to have performed by his creatures, for he was himself then confined* in the castle by the Covenanters.' This author ingeniously refers Montrose's fancy, for the remedy of assassination, to his foreign education!

[1] Laing's History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 208.

he was watched. He must have there discovered with what a noble and manly bearing the hero conducted himself throughout that persecution, and that assassination was the very antipodes of all that was 'characteristical of Montrose.' Those very manuscripts cast the broadest light, not only upon the general character of such fictitious plots, of which the clamour was raised for party purposes, but upon the individual characters of those who raised such clamours, and of those who suffered from them. The secret correspondence of Johnston of Warriston, all under the eye of this historian, make it perfectly manifest that this species of agitation was the most powerful lever of his tactics. They throw light upon the most disreputable double dealing of William Murray of the bed-chamber, and prove his secret connexion with the Covenanters, while he was blindly trusted by the King. They prove how very timid this Colonel Cochran was, how his former conversations with Montrose on the state of the times had been sifted, and made a point of dittay against that nobleman, and how impossible, under all the circumstances, is Malcolm Laing's own gratuitous assumption, that Montrose's alleged offer to assassinate, was transmitted to the King *through Cochran!* They prove, that upon the occasion of the Incident also, this officer, whose former deposition will be found in Part III., was again compelled to depone, and that not a hint of what Laing has assumed then transpired. They prove, that upon this occasion, William Murray and Cochran gave each other the lie in their depositions; and that neither of them pretended to criminate Montrose. They prove that the King himself detailed to the Parliament what passed between his Majesty and Cochran, and that not a word compromised Montrose.[1] Malcolm

[1] See Balfour, vol. i., p. 103; and Montrose and the Covenanters, vol. ii., p. 88.

Laing knew that every contemporary chronicler in Scotland, on either side, the whole of whom he quotes as they may happen to suit his purpose, Baillie, Balfour, Guthry, and Wishart, actors in those transactions, and closely watching and recording them, that even the anonymous libels of the day, are altogether silent as to this alleged proposition to the King from Montrose, whether personally or through another. He knew that the sole existing authority, for an allegation of the highest improbability, was that crude passage, from the confused manuscripts of Clarendon, which contains its own refutation. The manner in which he treats it is little creditable to an historian of high pretensions, and no mean powers. He omits that essential, and redeeming point for Charles, which his sole authority contains,—' but the King, *abhorring that expedient*, for his own security advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament.' He omits that, which, while it exonerates the King, renders more glaring the improbability of the insult his Majesty is said to have received from Montrose. He discovers that there was *no such interview* between Charles and Montrose. Yet Malcolm Laing, thus left absolutely naked of authority, is not ashamed, but, muffling this break-down in a studiously obscure sentence, devoid both of reason and grammatical sense,—' as Montrose was then in prison, the *interview* was obtained *indirectly*, through the *intervention* of Cochrane,'—pronounces his ridiculous fiat, that Clarendon's information is ' otherwise correct,' and that ' the assassination of Argyle and Hamilton was characteristical of Montrose.' Lastly, while this historian was writing, he had under his eye, or under his thumb, a most important and unequivocal refutation, afforded unconsciously by the King himself. In the rude translation of Wishart published in 1720, an imperfect collection of royal letters to Montrose is

printed in an appendix. From that appendix, and from those letters, Laing quotes where it suits the purpose of his history. Now, one of those letters, dated York, 7th May 1642, a few months after that alleged interview at which Montrose is said to have proposed assassination to the King, contains the sentence, which cannot be too frequently referred to in this detection of calumny, '*Duty and loyalty are sufficient to a man of so much honour as I know you to be.*'[1]

Charles I. wrote, with his own hand, three private letters to Montrose, in the space of a few months, immediately after his return to England at the close of the year 1641. It is fortunate, in reference to a calumny having such hold of history as to be adopted by D'Israeli, and uncontradicted by Scott,[2] that, in each of these letters, are some pointed expressions indicative of the strongest impression of the integrity and high-minded feelings of Montrose. In the letter dated from Windsor, 27th January 1642, the King refers to the *generosity* of his loyalty; in that dated from York, 7th May 1642, he speaks of the high *honour* of his character; and in the third, dated from Notingham, 27th August 1642, he says, 'You are one whom I have found most faithful, and in whom *I repose*

[1] There are some who would not hesitate to affirm that Charles was capable of paying this compliment to an assassin. But the expressions are voluntecred in a private letter to Montrose himself, immediately after the alleged atrocity. Even an assassin would not have thus addressed his accomplice.

[2] The good sense and knowledge of human character, which tempered the genius of Sir Walter Scott, prevented his adopting the anecdote of assassination. He must have felt it to be impossible, when compared with the rest of Montrose's history. But he was otherwise employed than in such minute investigation as was necessary to clear this blot from the face of History. He was aware of the passage which had been published under the name of Clarendon, immediately garbled, with most impudent variations, by Acherley (p. 444), and by Oldmixon (p. 178), subsequently modified, with no less effrontery, by Malcolm Laing to suit the facts of which Clarendon was ignorant,

greatest trust.' All these letters, moreover, contain the strongest requisition of Montrose's loyal services, and the most irresistible injunctions

and finally gloated over by Brodie. Nor could he have omitted to observe that quiet note of four lines in Hume's History of England, where a single but sufficient reason is given for contradicting the anecdote. It would seem, however, that Scott did not feel that confidence on the subject which might have induced him to repeat and fortify the contradiction by Hume, so as to support it against such writers as Malcolm Laing. Accordingly, while he adopts some of the minor details of the anecdote, he omits and passes in silence its most monstrous feature. No doubt this silence indicates the disbelief of Scott; yet considering the nature of the charge, and its hold of history, the omission seems more like a pious evasion than a positive contradiction. This told severely against the fame of Montrose. Could any one doubt what Clarendon noted, Acherley and Oldmixon asserted, Laing argued, Brodie shouted, and the most illustrious recorder of Montrose did not deny? So D'Israeli follows in this wake, and exerts his ingenuity to find a plausible reason for Montrose's propensity to assassination! Let us consider the passage in Scott.

'Montrose contrived, however, to communicate with the King from his prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, and *disclosed so many circumstances* respecting the purposes of the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Argyle, that Charles had resolved to arrest them both at one moment, and had assembled soldiers for that purpose. They escaped, however, and retired to their houses, where they could not have been seized but by open violence, and at the risk of a civil war.'—(Hist. of Scotland, vol. i., p. 422. Edit. 1836.)

The words which we have printed in italics are obviously an adoption of the assertion, in the Clarendon anecdote, that Montrose 'informed the King of many particulars,' &c. But Scott had not observed that the whole plausibility of this assertion depends upon the previous one, that Montrose 'came privately to the King,' and which our author had found to be false. A *private interview* might indeed have facilitated the communication of 'many particulars;' but communications by hasty letters from prison, and through the intervention of *William Murray of the Bedchamber*, must necessarily have been of the least personal, and the most general and cautious nature. That in point of fact they were so, is proved by the notes of Sir James Balfour, who quotes all that created suspicion, and which Montrose was required to explain. Nor is there the slightest evidence that Charles had made any preparations for arresting Hamilton or Argyle, or had any intention of doing so at the time when they fled and raised the popular excitement of *The Incident*. Besides, Lanerick's story is, that the intention was 'to *cut the throats* both of Argyle, my brother, and myself.'

that he would immediately exert himself in the very course which had occasioned his imprisonment, and nearly cost him his life, when the King was in Scotland. It was not the ardent and restless Montrose, agitating to worm himself into the counsels of Charles, but it was the harassed and insulted Monarch intreating for counsel and assistance from this isolated and persecuted Nobleman. Scarcely had he time to breathe in his retirement, or to know that his head was safe upon his shoulders, when these autograph letters from his Sovereign reached him, reiterating commands which were not the less imperative, upon a loyal subject, that they were conceived in terms of the highest compliment to his generosity and his honour. Thus, as the series of documents in this Volume amply proves, from the very first month of the year 1642, before the royal standard was unfurled, down to the month of May 1650, when he died on the scaffold, he never stirred hand or foot in the King's service, without the most express commands in writing, backed by the most formal commissions, from both the Sovereigns who exacted his services.

By this time Montrose was distinctly and publicly committed to certain views and principles as a Statesman, from which, as the very manner of their announcement by him proves, it was impossible he could ever swerve. His *arguing* in the Parliament of 1639 against such demagogues as Argyle and Johnston of Warriston, while he himself was a leader of the Covenant, shows how early he took his stand against all attempts upon the essential prerogatives of the Crown, and suffices to meet the puerile charge of tergiversation. The terms of that letter of advice to Charles, which seems to have been instrumental in causing the King's visit to Scotland, in 1641 (No. XI. Part III.), Lord Napier's frank explanation of the whole motives and object of 'the Plot,'

Montrose's petitions and addresses to the Parliament while he was a prisoner, his indignant defences and protestation against the monster process, are all perfectly consistent with each other, and unequivocally demonstrate that his principles of action were fixed and determined. Moreover, it is proved, by the very interesting document with which this Part commences, that in 1640 he had digested his studies of constitutional history, into the form of a letter or essay addressed to some one who had requested him to do so. He had thus committed himself to the recorded expression of opinions relative to the state of the Times, and the conduct and motives of those who were now agitating against the Crown, so strong, so determined, and so deliberately conceived, as to place it beyond all reasonable doubt, that no temptation of self-interest would ever induce him to return to that party, or for one moment to harbour such an idea.

Notwithstanding, however, the monarchical principles so boldly announced by Montrose,—notwithstanding his consequent arraignment, as for a capital offence against the State, and all the bitterness of abuse with which he had been assailed in that libel,—the leaders of the movement, now preparing a rebel army, actually sought him, like Cincinnatus, in his retirement, and endeavoured to bribe him to become their Lieutenant-General.[1] So pertinacious were they in this sinister attempt,

[1] The fact, strange as it may appear, cannot be questioned. It was published by Dr Wishart, in 1646, during the lifetime of the parties, and repeated in the various editions and translations of his Latin Commentary. The following is from the contemporary translation, which we quote because it was printed at the Hague in 1648, while Montrose himself was resident there :—

'Now that they [the Rebels] might the better secure their affaires at home, they labour tooth and naile to draw Montrose (of whom almost onely they were afraid) againe to their side. They offer him, of their own accord, the office of Lieutenant Generall in the army, and whatever else he could desire and they bestow. He, seeing a mighty storm hovering over the King's

that after he had been with the Queen at York, in the months of March and April 1643, and when it was notorious that he had counselled the most immediate and energetic measures against the rebellion brewing in Scotland, no sooner had he returned, prior to the month of May 1643, than these attempts were strenuously renewed. Both Wishart and Guthry record the fact; and they are confirmed by a cautious and covert reference to these transactions, in a letter from Baillie to Spang, written in July 1643. 'Argyle,' he says, 'and our nobles, especially since Hamilton's falling off, would have been content, *for the peace of the Country*, to have *dispensed* with that man's [Montrose] by-past misdemeanours; but private ends misleads many: He, Antrim, Huntly, Airly, Nithisdale, and more, are ruined in their estates: Public commotions are their private subsistence.' It is amusing to find this deluded Covenanter accusing the incorruptible Montrose, of the very vice which characterised those agitators who originally misled and now tried to regain him. The fact that they failed, to which Baillie alludes with so much spleen, is not the best evidence that the object of their dread lived by public commotions, or loved to fish in troubled waters. Two important circumstances may be gathered from Baillie's notice of these attempts. The first is, that the proposition emanated from Argyle; and the second, that neither Baillie nor Argyle had ever heard of the fabulous charge against Montrose, which was found among Clarendon's papers. The 'by-past misdemeanour,' of a proposition to assassinate

head, that he might give him an account of it, whereby it might be timely prevented, undertakes a journey into England, taking the Lord Ogilby into his counsell and company. At Newcastle he receives news that the Queen, being newly returned out of Holland, was landed at Burlington in Yorkshire. Thither he makes haste, and relates unto the Queen all things in order.' The Queen arrived in Burlington bay before the end of February 1643.

Argyle himself, was not one with which that nobleman would, under any circumstances, have been 'content to dispense.'

With every disposition to impute the worst motives to Montrose, Baillie does not insinuate that he had wavered for a moment. But two of the noblemen with whom, as hopeless malignants, he now classed him, had heard vague rumours of Montrose's defection, which occasioned a momentary, though groundless alarm even in the mind of the Queen. The Earl of Antrim, then with her Majesty, received a letter from the Earl of Nithisdale, early in May 1643, wherein he says,—'Hamilton, I do fear, hath done bad offices to the King since his return: My Lord, I am very confident Montrose will not flinch from what he professed at York.' On the 8th of May, however, the same nobleman writes in a more doubtful strain, probably because at this time the emissaries of Argyle were in communication with Montrose. 'I am not,' says he, 'altogether desperate of Montrose; but say he were changed, I am in good hope you shall not lack well-affected subjects in Scotland to prosecute that point we resolved on.'[1] These extracts suffice to explain some expressions in a letter from Henrietta Maria to Montrose, dated from York, on the last day of May 1643, which will be found in its order in this Part. Her Majesty commences with a very pointed allusion to their recent interview. She acknowledges the receipt of a letter at this time from Montrose himself, in which it would appear that he had taken the liberty to point to the present state of the King's affairs in Scotland, under the conduct of his successful rival Hamilton, as affording fatal proofs that his own counsels had been too rashly rejected.

[1] These letters, the first of which bears no date, were taken from the Earl of Antrim, when apprehended by General Monro in 1643, and immediately published in a violent Declaration by the House of Commons, dated at London, July 1643.

Then, after entreating for unanimity and instant action, the Queen adds, that she herself will do all in her power, and furnish Montrose with arms from Denmark,—'aient toujour eu une tres grande confiance en vous, et *en votre generosité*, que je vous assure n'est point diminué, *quoique, come vous miserable, j'ai ouï que vous aviez faites amitie avec quelque personnes qui me pourroit fait apprehender:* mais la confiance que j'ai en vous, et l'estime, ne pendra pas sur de si petites fondemens que le commun bruit, ni sur une chose que *si vous avez faite*, je suis assuré *que ce n'est que pour le service du Roy.*' This sentence does justice to the character of the ill-fated nobleman, who himself declared that he 'never had passion on earth so great' as that to serve and save the King; and, as no good man ever withheld a secret from his wife, it affords another certain assurance that Montrose had never recommended himself as an assassin to the husband of Henrietta Maria. The same doubts, by which Nithisdale expressed to Antrim the loyal anxieties of that crisis, are indicated by Sir Robert Poyntz, who thus writes to the Marquis of Ormonde, on the 1st of June 1643. 'Some of the Scottish nobility came to York to the Queen. They say a Scottish nobleman, Montrose, with a knight, Sir Robert Spotswood, came to the Queen with good profers of real service, which were seconded by a popish Lord, Nithisdale. They were persuaded the safest way was by the Queen, whose course by many is judged very constant and fixed, whereas other courses are too moveable. But the Marquis of Hamilton, and another nobleman (whose name I have forgotten, not being well acquainted with the Scotch Lords' titles, but sure I am he was Treasurer in the time of the Scottish troubles),[1] came too, knowing

[1] It is remarkable that Sir Robert Poyntz should have been unable to name *Traquair*, that notorious intriguing Statesman, who was more at Court than in Scotland. His

Montrose's intentions, and was so powerful with those whom her Majesty primely trusts, that he did defeat all their course and intentions, and made the Queen give little countenance to Montrose, who, as his countrymen say, *is a generous spirit,* but hath not so good a head-piece as Hamilton.[1] Hamilton hath undertaken to the Queen to keep the Scots at home. Montrose, when he came home, being discontented, hath reconciled himself to the Marquis of Argyle; yet I hear *understanding Scots* say, the quarrel and wrong is *irreconcileable,* and Argyle of his own nature implacable, yet is so subtle that he can hugely dissemble. If the Marquis of Hamilton keep what he hath promised to the Queen, all will be well. But *the wiser sort suspect him;* and ere long by the consequents it will appear. There be more than pregnant reasons to suspect and fear the worst, as some inform. For Montrose was *the only man to be the head and leader of the King's party,* and being of an high spirit, cannot away with contempts and affronts.'[2]

Prior, however, to the date of this letter, as will be seen from that of Henrietta Maria's, her Majesty's alarm for the defection of Montrose had been completely dispelled, by a correspondence with the very nobleman whose loyalty was in question. This of itself proves that he was neither wavering in his affections, nor sulky under defeat. And here we must redeem him from an imputation of baseness, which was scarcely to have been expected from the right loyal and otherwise lau-

white staff' was torn from his hand, and broken by the mob, in one of the riots against the Service-book, to which the writer alludes. There is no doubt that he accompanied Hamilton in this successful opposition to Montrose.

[1] He was not so cunning a courtier. But Hamilton could not have composed the Essay on Sovereign Power, No. I. of this Part.

[2] See Carte's Ormonde Papers, vol. i., p. 19.

datory pen of Lord Mahon. That accomplished historian, while deriving his knowledge of the history of our hero from his own hasty review of records which completely refute the ill-digested idea, has indulged in a gratuitous surmise no less inconsistent than derogatory. Speaking of the events above illustrated, he says: 'The offers which about this time were more formally made to Montrose, were to free him from embarrassment by the discharge of his debts, and to give him a command in the army second only to Lord Leven's. It appears that the vague and indecisive answers which Montrose for some time returned raised a suspicion against him in some of the Scottish Royalists. We must *own ourselves doubtful*, (although Mr Napier, in his zeal as a biographer, will not for an instant harbour such a thought), whether the ill reception of Montrose at York did not at first make him *waver in his attachment to the King*. If so, however (and we do not express any positive opinion on the subject), his wavering was neither publicly evinced nor long continued. By *no overt act*, by *no authentic declaration*, can Montrose be shown to have swerved from his principles of loyalty—from that *better part* which he had deliberately chosen, and was destined to seal with his blood.'[1] Why, then, doubt him? Why,

[1] 'Historical Essays, by Lord Mahon, contributed to the Quarterly Review; London, John Murray, 1849.' See that entitled 'The Marquis of Montrose,' p. 140. This review of the Editor's two works, 'Montrose and the Covenanters,' and 'The Life and Times of Montrose,' has been already noticed in these Memorials, Vol. I., pp. 218, 240. It has since been published, with other Essays, under the above title.

There are three modes of reviewing,—at least. 1. That which describes the work, selects specimens from its pages, and criticises the performance. 2. The dulness, into which this primitive mode had degenerated, stirred the geniuses of a later age into the composition of those critical and historical *Essays*, which have created the glory of modern Reviews. These dreaded yet delightful critics are, in fact, original writers, rising into literary fame upon the ruins of some enemy who had written a

under the strange form of a surmise against evidence, raise this new idea of inexpressible meanness in Montrose? Historical research, keenly

book, or lighting their own torch at congenial fires, and emulating and rivalling the genius to which they minister. Such writers could not long afford to remain anonymous. The learning, the wit, the brilliancy and originality, of these varied performances, afford an undeniable excuse for their reappearance, as original compositions, in an independent and acknowledged form. Need we name such authors as Sidney Smith, Jeffrey, and Macaulay. 3. The éclat of this species of writing, and the deceptive idea of facility which the highest efforts of genius are apt to suggest, have engendered another mode of reviewing, which is but a spurious imitation of the former. Some author, who has been happy in the choice and laborious in the illustration of his subject, is selected by the reviewer, and shaken, squeezed, and riddled into *an article*. Historical biography, when involving much antiquarian research in illustration of a popular subject, and successful in the disinterring of truth, affords the most tempting prey for this species of poaching. With no other library for the occasion than the book before them, with no deeper research than through its notes and illustrations, with no new information on the subject except what is culled from its pages, the reviewer of this derivative class concocts, for the million, an attractive and imposing 'Historical Essay.' The author who suffers must, nevertheless, not complain of being robbed of his skin. Is he not patted kindly during the process, and is his published work not duly advertised at the head of the Review, that those who buy may read? All this is done, moreover, with such general or occasional recognition of the author, as saves the reviewer from the slightest imputation of bad faith, without in the least interfering with that reputation for originality, which it is the tendency of the composition to acquire from the million. Still, it must be conceded, that however allowable as an anonymous review, a production of this nature has no excuse whatever for reappearing in that independent form which a Smith, a Jeffrey, or a Macaulay may so justly assert for their sparkling and original Essays.

It is seldom that an author, who ranks so deservedly high in letters as Lord Mahon, betakes himself to this species of reviewing. An Essay from his pen on the Marquis of Montrose, throughout which his own genius had been stimulated to play with energy and freedom, however suggested and aided by the labours of another, must have delighted the world, and no one more so than the editor of these Memorials. But in this instance the whole warp and woof of the Essay, the substance and conduct of the narrative, the incidents, the illustrations, the controversy, the authorities and references, are all, with the most insignificant exceptions, derived from the two works

pursued, and the detection of falsehood, indignantly expressed, may be called ‘ zeal as a biographer.’ Nevertheless, it is the best security for the truth and justice of History. Upon grounds which he has fully approved, Montrose once *changed*, but he never *wavered*. And had it

whose titles head the Review, and to which a general acknowledgement is no doubt conceded in flattering terms. The inevitable result of this hurried decanting, from the magnum of the reviewed into the phial of the reviewer, is great waste and much evaporation. It is distressing to find an author of unquestionable genius, and high historical reputation, treating such a subject without vigour or spirit, as if his mind were cramped and wearied with the mechanical process; never allowing the horn of his own genius to glow with the inspiring subject; yet ever and anon disturbing the best sources of domestic history, by a sprinkling of hasty criticism and rash contradictions. He will not allow (p. 173) the well considered suggestion, that Montrose's wild address to an imaginary mistress is more characterised with the expressions, and imbued with the spirit, of his loyalty than of his love. He (p. 131) ‘ altogether disbelieves a story told by Bishop Guthry, and repeated by Mr Napier,’ that in 1639 a paper was affixed to the chamber door of Montrose, with the words *invictus armis verbis vincitur*. His hold of the subject is so loose as to cast him upon the blunder, that ‘ such an inscription is *clearly framed* on a view of Montrose's *later exploits*.’ His haste is too great for him to perceive the mischief done to authentic annals by such crude and peremptory contradiction of a *most accurate* contemporary chronicler, speaking from his own knowledge of contemporary events. He adopts (p. 171), without any investigation, the Covenanting calumny against another *most accurate*, though indignant recorder of Montrose, Dr Wishart, that his narrative is not trustworthy. So raw and so rapid is his judgment of the position, conduct, and character of Montrose himself, as to start that new surmise of his baseness from which we have redeemed him in the text. So little had he purified himself from vulgar cant on the subject, as to assert (p. 193), ‘ For the *cruelties* which are alleged in *his conduct*, they can neither be *denied nor defended*.’ Such was the noble essayist's haste as not to perceive that his suggestion of *baseness*, and admission of *cruelty*, in the character of Montrose, completely stultifies his own praise of the hero, and sells him to his bitterest enemies. Then, while he bestows (p. 173) a gem upon *the troubadour* which crowns the genius of another, he again disturbs (p. 190) the sources of authentic history, by depriving *the martyr* of the last and most interesting sentences which he ever composed. If Mrs Arkwright, at the flattering suggestion of the noble and accomplished historian, had set to music, as the composition of

been in his nature to waver, from base motives, at such a crisis, the private letters of which he was then in possession from Charles I. and his Queen, could not fail to have operated as a talisman against all temptation.

We have seen that, immediately after Montrose's release, at the com-

Montrose, that exquisite lyric, the burden of which is,—'Then tell me how to woo thee, love,'—she would have deprived Graham of Gartmore of an intellectual ray which illustrates his memory, and of which his family are justly proud. And no less injustice would be done to Montrose, if the noble declaration, with which he so eloquently and anxiously dignified his exit, with which his country was ringing on the instant of his death, which was immediately recorded, as his, by friends and enemies, and throughout two centuries has never been doubted, were now to be referred, at the crude suggestion of a rapid essayist, to the dishonest and clumsy *ex post facto* contrivance of the friends who survived him.

The spirit of these observations, it is hoped, will not be mistaken. The complimentary recognition of the author's labours has neither been overlooked nor undervalued by him. At the same time there is that in the construction of the 'Historical Essay on the Marquis of Montrose, by Lord Mahon,' especially as a separate publication in Murray's Colonial and Home Library, which seemed to require that the reviewer should be reviewed. We deprecate the assumption, as we regret the feebleness, of the following paragraph, with which the Essay concludes. For it is never the duty of *a critic* to clear away the mists of calumny, unless *the author* has failed to do so, or is the calumniator. Nor is it in the power either of author or critic 'to portray Montrose's great services to his King and country,' who entirely failed in such attempts, and lost all but his honour.

'Delighting then,' (says Lord Mahon,) 'as we do, to trace either a chivalrous character, or a loyal zeal, and finding both united in Montrose—a champion worthy of the cause, and a cause worthy of the champion—we have lingered too long perhaps on our sketch of his achievements. Sure we are, however, that no duty of a critic is more binding upon him, than the endeavour to clear away the mists of calumny from the departed great. And proud shall we feel if, in what we have said, we have tended, not indeed to dissemble the failings and errors of Montrose, but to portray those great services to his King and country, which, in the eyes of those who maligned him, were held as his principal error—if we have been able to weave another leaf into his chaplet, or, according to the former superstition of his own country, to cast another stone upon his *cairn*.'

mencement of the year 1642, he received his Sovereign's reiterated commands to proceed with energy in his loyal course. Charles, who had really sacrificed the loyalty of Scotland to his dread of the rebellion in England, imagined that all danger from his native country was over. Montrose knew better. He knew that, from the double-dealing of Hamilton, the mercenary habits of Leven, the deadly malignity of Argyle and his seditious preachers, his Majesty, and all who dared to support him in Scotland, had every thing to fear. The loyal derived no protection from the laws there, and still less from the authority of their Sovereign. A vicious secret letter from Warriston, a public tirade from the pulpit of Cant, a sinister nod from the potentate of Inverara, would suffice to deprive the most distinguished loyalist of his liberty and his life, unless he happened to have a body of armed retainers immediately at his back. As for Montrose, he was considered, even by such as otherwise were inclined to adhere to him, a ruined and doomed man. It was well known that the eye of the *Vehm Gerichte* was upon him. He moved in his own country with as little security as a Christian among Thugs. The same power which sent him, without a crime, to the castle in 1641, and all but to the scaffold, could have done the like in 1643. Montrose knew that Argyle was only watching for the most favourable opportunity. He knew the precise value of their never-failing lip-loyalty. The offer of high command to himself deceived him not for a moment. The most powerful lever of their late subjugation of him, was the *military discipline* to which they held him amenable. That hold had been lost. Argyle then devised the temptation of an offer that he should be *second* in command. This hitch of the noose was a failure. Yet it was artistically cast. To reject the offer with that indignation which his nature might prompt, would be to avow himself a

determined enemy of the Estates. To accept of it as a repentant backslider, would be to sacrifice the only protection and power that remained to him, his character. To repeat the game of 1640, and undertake a subordinate command for the Covenant, with the mental reservation of practically realizing the loyalty which that document professed, would have again brought him, with more deadly effect, under the libel of 1641. Besides, his statement to her Majesty at York, that the Argyle Government were organizing an army, the instant design of which was to aid the Rebellion in England, had been positively contradicted by Hamilton and Traquair. Their counsels to that effect had succeeded against all his remonstrances. Montrose returned to Scotland with a determination to ascertain, beyond question, the real designs of the Covenanters, before quitting the scene where his own life was in hourly danger.

The man honoured with the commission to reconvert Montrose, was Alexander Henderson. Though indelibly stamped with certain characteristics of his sect, this clerical agitator was neither so fully cognisant of the deep designs of the faction, to whom he lent his powerful and comparatively respectable aid, nor did he manifest the same unscrupulous and vicious dispositions, as some of his coadjutors. The acute and sensitive mind of Charles I., which instantly conceived the greatest disgust at Archibald Johnston, took somewhat kindly to Alexander Henderson. A strange picture of the times, this private conference with Montrose, in the open air, to induce him, by the mean bribe of the payment of his debts, to accept of *all but* the highest command in their army of 1643. With considerable adroitness Montrose avoided the snare, yet made the most of the occasion. He returned such an answer as neither enabled Argyle to denounce

him as an Incendiary, nor yet to treat him as a subordinate officer again under the discipline of Alexander Leslie. He neither lost his presence of mind, nor his temper, nor his character. He acted in such a manner as afterwards enabled him to say with truth, in his Remonstrance of 1645, 'God is our witness we were most willing to pack up all private injuries, which we profess ourselves this day to be far from resenting, if the last and greatest had not followed, viz., the joining in league with the Brownists and Independents in England, to the prejudice of Religion; and with the factious remainder of England, to the prejudice of authority and liberty of the subject.' The conference with Henderson was suggested by Montrose himself, in terms so respectful, and so cautiously qualified, that for a moment he was regarded as a waverer. The Argyle faction had recently evinced their earnest desire to remove him for ever from the scene. They had treated him in the most illegal, unconstitutional, and unprincipled manner. Montrose now met them with the bearing of a high-minded gentleman, but with diplomatic tact, as a loyal statesman, and with the prudence and caution necessary for self-preservation. Having gained time, by means of dilatory answers, that he might watch the development of the rebellious plans in Scotland,[1] and having ascertained that a *Convention* had been determined upon (at the suggestion of Sir Thomas Hope, his Majesty's Advocate, certainly not for his Majesty's interest), he hastened to meet the emissary of the Kirk. 'When the diet of the Convention [22 June 1643] drew near,' says Guthry, 'they dispatched Mr Henderson to wait upon the Earl of Montrose for solving of his doubts, who, being advertised by Sir James Rollok of Mr Henderson's coming the length

[1] 'Quæ quidem ille non admodùm ægrè audire videbatur, quo altius in intima eorum consilia penetraret.'—(Wishart, Cap. II.)

of Stirling for that end, did meet him at Stirling Bridge: they conferred together by the water-side the space of two hours, and parted fairly without any accommodation.' At this conference the apostle of the Covenant was accompanied by a gentleman who stood in a singular position, with regard to Montrose and Argyle. We have already recorded the marriage of Lady Dorothea Graham to Sir James Rollok of Duneruib, in the year 1628; and also the untimely death of that younger sister of our hero, ten years after her marriage.[1] The laird of Duneruib married, secondly, Lady Mary Campbell, the sister of Argyle. Thus he was brother-in-law to both of the noblemen who stood in such deadly opposition to each other, and no doubt had been selected on this account for the delicate negotiation. Montrose himself adopted the best precaution for the protection of his own character, the surest guarantee of the consistency and rectitude of his intentions, in the companions whom he chose. His two near relatives, Lord Napier and Sir George Stirling of Keir—the former his counsellor through life, and both his co-adjutors in 'the Plot' to save the King—along with his constant and ever loyal companion, the hope of the house of Airly, he caused to be partakers of the conference. This was for the express purpose of protecting himself from the very calumny which has been so recently and rashly suggested. Ogilvy was his companion while he was urging his loyal counsels upon the Queen at York. He had never quitted him since; and Lord Mahon may dismiss for ever his suspicion that Montrose was now a mean and mercenary waverer. He saluted the representative of the Covenant with a respectful frankness, less difficult to assume than if he had been constrained to address some others of the

[1] See vol. i. pp. 91, 92, 93, 94.

cloth. He referred to the late process against the Plotters, and his consequent seclusion from public affairs; and he begged to be fully and freely informed of the designs of the Convention, and especially with what precise object they now offered him so high a military command. Thrown off his guard by the frankness of this address, the reverend diplomatist, to use a contemporary expression, proceeded to 'open his pack.' He admitted that an army from Scotland was immediately to cross the Borders, in aid of 'their brethern in England.' This was the design which Montrose had predicted to her Majesty, and of which he was now desirous to be assured, from authority which no plausibility on the part of Hamilton could gainsay. Henderson further complimented Montrose with a high estimate of the value of his services, declaring how proud he would be to bring him over, and to negotiate the terms of his apostacy! The Cavalier had learnt all he came to discover. Turning to his old friend and relative Sir James Rollok, he took him unawares with the question, 'Are these offers made to me from the Convention of Scotland, or are you negotiating privately?' Rollok declared his understanding to be, that the Moderator of the Kirk had the authority of the State. Henderson contradicted this, but said, that certainly he had the confidence of Government, which would be sure to ratify whatever he concluded. During a sort of wrangle, which now ensued between these emissaries of Argyle, they were bowed off, and the conference ended by Montrose, with this sarcastic observation, that he could come to no conclusion without the security of the public faith, especially as the messengers were not at one on the subject of their powers.[1]

[1] 'Montisrosanus nihil certi statuere posse se asserit, absque publicâ fide, dissentientibus præsertim inter se internunciis.' The whole scene is graphically described by Wishart (Cap. II.), doubtless from Montrose's own account of it.

Such is the account of this transaction published not very long after the event, by Dr Wishart, during the lifetime of the parties. There is not the slightest reason for doubting the perfect accuracy of the record. Montrose, conscious of the extreme danger of his position in Scotland, lost no time in joining the King at Oxford, accompanied by Lord Ogilvy. But he failed in persuading Lord Napier and Keir to adopt the same course, as they had afterwards great reason to regret. The issue of the Convention in Scotland verified all the predictions of Montrose, justified all his counsels, and sent Hamilton to Pendennis.

These views of the soundness of Montrose's principles, and the purity of his conduct, at the fearful crisis of the commencement of the great Civil War, receive the fullest confirmation from the documents printed in this Part. No. I., which alone requires a particular notice in this Introduction, is an interesting and valuable illustration, both of the hero and his Times. The editor claims the sole merit of redeeming it from obscurity. Malcolm Laing, in his one-sided search of the stores where it lay hid, had not discovered it. Neither had Mr Brodie. The scent was cold, to these historical antiquaries, in that direction. In the handwriting of the Reverend Robert Wodrow, and by him entitled 'Montrose, Marquis, Letter about the Sovereign and Supreme Power in Government,'—we find a most careful transcript of what bears to have been written by Montrose to a friend. Wodrow arranges it, in his MS. collections, under the head, 'Particular Dissertations, Essays, and Questions.' The editor's researches have failed to discover the original. It is not mentioned by any contemporary chronicler, nor is it any where alluded to by the transcriber himself, throughout the heterogeneous mass of his collected gossip. But Wodrow, though credulous as a child, and bigoted as a monk, was a diligent and honest

transcriber. He has done far more, for the truth of history, by the labours of his hand than by the fancies of his head. Nor will the ardent and unscrupulous apologist of the darkest deeds which blot the history of the Church in Scotland, be suspected of a false or partial record in favour of Montrose.[1] But the authentication does not depend upon Wodrow. The internal evidence of the authorship is irresistible. The letter is identical, in the maxims and the style, with that which 'the Plotters' addressed to the King; and other manuscripts, in the handwriting of Montrose's friend and tutor, contain not only the maxims, but some of the sentences, that are found in this Essay on Supreme Power. The transcript has been made without note or comment, and is neither dated nor addressed. The preliminary expression, 'Noble Sir,' affords no certain indication that the letter was written to a nobleman, and it is useless to indulge in conjectures as to the individual who had exacted from Montrose this formal and elaborate exposition of his public principles. It is of more importance to ascertain the date, which, fortunately, the letter itself enables us to fix within such narrow limits as to answer all the purpose of the most precise chronology. There can be no doubt that it was written prior to the commencement of the Civil War in 1643, and at a time when the prospect, or the possibility, yet existed of Scotland being saved from the degradation to which her factious and mercenary disloyalty ultimately reduced her. It is no less certain that by this time Montrose stood in opposition to the Argyle government, and that 'seditious preachers' and 'nimble-witted noblemen' had fully awakened his indignation and alarm. This gives the limits, between the close of 1639 and the commencement of 1643. As

[1] There is not a more revolting page of history than Wodrow's complacent narrative of the brutal murder of Archbishop Sharpe.

there is not the slightest allusion, however, to the persecution which he had suffered in 1641, it seems most unlikely that the letter could have been written subsequent to that event. Moreover, these expressions, towards the close of it,—'And whereas a durable peace with England (which is the wish and desire of all honest men) is pretended, surely it is a great solecism in us to aim at an end of peace with them, and overthrow the only means for that end,'—must refer to the crisis when Commissioners from Scotland were attending the treaty of Rippon. That treaty, which commenced at Rippon in the month of October 1640, was continued, throughout the space of a twelvemonth, in London. Then it was that Archibald Johnston stirred the fire of democracy there, with a success that was consummated by the forced concessions of the King in Scotland in the following year. This hopeless result could scarcely have occurred before the above reference to the treaty had been penned. There is every reason to believe that this Essay was one of the fruits of those conservative *symposia*, which 'the Plotters' held sometimes in Montrose's lodgings in Edinburgh, and sometimes in Merchiston Castle, about Christmas-time of the year 1640, when their letter to Charles I. was conceived. Thus, at that very crisis of his career, when modern writers have assumed that Montrose was so low in the scale of humanity as to be one moment ready to assassinate Argyle, and the next to sell his honour to him, for the payment of his debts, he was, in point of fact, deprecating the anarchy of rebellion, and reasoning the inviolable nature of sovereign power, in terms indicative of a most humane, accomplished, and enlightened mind.

There is something extraordinary and startling in this late discovery, that a young Scottish nobleman, only known to history as a daring cavalier who passed from his war-saddle to the scaffold, had, in the year 1640,

pondered so deeply the problem of government, and prophesied so truly the issue of all violent democratic movements. What and where was Cromwell when Montrose wrote that Essay? 'The first time that ever I took notice of him,' says good Sir Philip Warwick, 'was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes: I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not), very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth-suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason.' (Memoirs, p. 273.) No further advanced was that great spirit of his age, at the time when Montrose was predicating his advent, though he knew not the man. To us who look back, through the vista of time, upon his iron Usurpation, and the subsequent Reign of Terror elsewhere,—to whom many a page of familiar history unfolds the bloody records of revolution, and who are taught to deduce therefrom precious theories of Liberty,—Montrose's warning, against the headlong movement, may read like the trite and common-place invectives of a short-sighted partizan. But let it be remembered, that, in 1640, Charles was yet a King, and Cromwell not even a commander. The heads of Haddo, Huntly, and Hamilton were still on their shoulders, and the blood of Stewart of Ladywell was as yet the only indication of the shambles of the Covenant. Those enlightened statesmen

and historians of modern days, who from time to time, and never more successfully than now, have enlightened and amused the world with their theories,—who teach the youth of England that they ought to revere the robber and the murderer, for planting the tree of Liberty, and watering it with the blood of nobles and of kings,—yet slumbered in uncreated dust. When, in the following sentences, Montrose, with prophetic eloquence, was deprecating what to him seemed barbarous zeal and unprincipled violence, he was not aware how he interfered with and vilified the hallowed sources of Fox's glory, and Macaulay's fame :—

'And you, ye meaner people of Scotland, who are not capable of a Republic for many grave reasons, why are you induced, by specious pretexts, to your own heavy prejudice and detriment, to be instruments of others' ambition? Do ye not know, when the Monarchical government is shaken, the great ones strive for the garland, with your blood and your fortunes? Whereby you gain nothing; but, instead of a race of Kings who have governed you two thousand years with peace and justice, and have preserved your liberties against all domineering Nations, shall purchase to yourselves vultures and tigers to reign over your posterity, and yourselves shall endure all those miseries, massacres, and proscriptions of the triumvirate of Rome,—the Kingdom fall again into the hands of One, who of necessity must, and for reason of state will, tyrannize over you.'

A cursory glance at this Essay, especially under the influence of vulgar notions respecting the character of Montrose, might induce the belief that it was the extravagant tribute of a courtier to the divine and hereditary right of Kings to do wrong. In the reign of James I. it was, says Mr Macaulay, 'that those strange theories which Filmer afterwards formed into a system, and which became the badge of the most

violent class of Tories and high-Churchmen, first emerged into notice. It was gravely maintained that the Supreme Being regarded hereditary monarchy—as opposed to other forms of government—with peculiar favour; that the rule of succession, *in order of primogeniture*, was a divine institution, anterior to the Christian, and even to the Mosaic dispensation.'[1] This, which our historian calls the badge of ultra-Tories and high-Churchmen, was certainly not the doctrine of Montrose, in the Essay in question. He discourses of 'Supreme Power, in *Government of all sorts*.' His object is to demonstrate the 'sacred and inviolable nature' of *Sovereignty*, as the indispensable bond of civil society, and he is anxious to do justice to this Heaven-suggested power, 'in a time when so much is said and done to the disgrace and derogation of it.' This is not the doctrine of the divine right of primogeniture, or even of Kings as opposed to other forms of government. Montrose, no doubt, was attached to the hereditary monarchical form of government, as the best of all. What English historian could condemn him for that predilection? But *an inviolable right of government*, 'whether in the person of a *monarch*, or in a *few principal men*, or in the *Estates of the People*,' is the principle for which he contends. And it is to this general principle he alludes, when, in his letter to Charles I. (no doubt written at the same period as this Essay), he so emphatically advises him, in reference to his settlement of Scotland in 1641,—'Suffer them not to meddle with your power: it is an instrument never subjects yet handled well. Let not your authority receive any diminution of that which the law of God and Nature, and the fundamental laws of the country, alloweth. For then it shall grow contemptible; and weak and

[1] Macaulay's History of England, vol. i., p. 71. The historian here refers to the Political Discourses of Sir Robert Filmer, Bart., published in 1680.

miserable is that People whose Prince hath not power sufficient to punish oppression, and to maintain peace and justice.' Immediately, however, he adds, 'On the other side, aim not at absoluteness.' In like manner, in the Essay we are considering, that supreme or sovereign power for which he contends, and which he declares to be 'the truest image and representation of the power of Almighty God upon earth,' he also declares to be 'limited by the laws of God and Nature, and some laws of nations, and by the fundamental laws of the country, upon which Sovereign power itself resteth—in prejudice of which a King can do nothing.' And although he inculcates the doctrine of patience and passive obedience in subjects, as the best mode of the ultimate rectification of the machine deranged by 'the Prince's power too far extended,' he points at once to the proper constitutional and controlling balance, in 'the *Parliaments*, which ever have been *the bulwarks of subjects' liberties in Monarchies.*' He is writing at the very moment when the rash, though much-provoked attempt of Charles I. to govern without Parliaments, was convulsing the Monarchy of England. One of the political errors, upon which Mr Macaulay would persuade us of the infamy of the Monarch he has maligned, is that attempt, for which Charles alone is not answerable. 'From March 1629 to April 1640, the Houses were not convoked. Never in our history had there been an interval of eleven years between Parliament and Parliament.'[1] At the very crisis, in the very month, probably, of November 1640, when the Long Parliament assembled, Montrose, in a dissertation upon the sacred and inviolable nature of Sovereign power, is writing thus: 'And if *Parliaments be frequent,* and *rightly constituted,* what

[1] Macaulay, vol. i., p. 86.

favourite Counsellor or Statesman dare misinform or mislead a King, to the prejudice of the subjects' liberty, knowing he must answer it, upon the peril of his head and estate, at the next ensuing Parliament?'

There is a remarkable coincidence between the doctrines and arguments of this long lost production, and those of a discourse which was delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1835, by Professor Sedgwick. Montrose's principles of civil obedience, his axioms of political government, his anxious and elaborate search for that invisible line of demarcation, between the philosophy of passive obedience on the one hand, and justifiable resistance on the other, his reasoning and sentiments, when deprecating the approach of the great Civil War, are wonderfully similar, in their logic, and even in their language, to those of one of the most gifted sons of *Alma Mater* in 1835. 'Rebellion,' says the latter, 'is proscribed by human law, and is forbidden by the law of God. But a moral opposition to the executive, conducted on constitutional grounds, is proscribed by no law either of God or man; and if it be wisely and virtuously carried on, it has in its own nature the elements of increasing strength, and must at length be irresistible. If, however, during the progress of a state, the constituted authorities be in open warfare with each other, a good man may at length be compelled to take a side, and reluctantly to draw his sword in defence of the best inheritance of his country. Such an appeal, to be just, must be made on principle, and after all other honest means have been tried in vain.' So inculcates Professor Sedgwick; and, moreover, he declares obedience to the civil government to be a duty, 'because the word of God solemnly and repeatedly enjoins it,' and he refers to the example of the Apostles, who 'resisted not the powers of the world by bodily force, but by patient endurance, and by heroic self-devotion.' Finally he tells us, 'Unfor-

tunately, the opposition to the encroachments of arbitrary power has too often been commenced by selfish men for base purposes. Instead of taking their stand in a moral and constitutional resistance, instead of trying, by every human means, to concentrate all the might of virtue and high principle on their side, they have broken the laws of their country, dipped their hands in blood, and needlessly brought ruin on themselves and their party.'[1] Thus the very principles which Montrose expounded, and the evils which he predicated, in 1640, formed the theme for a public discourse, in 1835, by one of the most liberal and learned Professors of the University of Cambridge.

All the other documents contained in this Part, in like manner illustrate the loyal and constitutional principles upon which Montrose and his friends took their stand for the King against the rebel Parliament; and are quite incompatible with the crude idea, that his opposition to the Government of Argyle, at this crisis, was of an uncertain or venal character.

In the Appendix, in justification of that estimate of the character of Burnet, as an historian, which will be found in a preceding page (p. 6), there is added a very curious original letter of the Bishop's, from the Napier charter-chest, which has never yet entered history. And here we must put a question to Mr Macaulay. Why, in bolstering the character of Burnet, has he so grievously misquoted Lord Dartmouth? 'No person,' says our historian, 'has contradicted Burnet more frequently, or with more asperity, than Dartmouth. Yet Dartmouth says, "I do not think he designedly published any thing he believed to be

[1] Discourse by Adam Sedgwick, Woodwardian Professor, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Fourth Edition, 1835, p. 137.

false."' True, Lord Dartmouth *qualified severe censure* with the expressions so partially selected by Mr Macaulay. But after perusing the whole of Burnet's posthumous work, the noble critic *pointedly recalled* his qualification, in these words: 'I wrote in the first volume of this book, that I did not believe the Bishop designedly published any thing he believed to be false; therefore think myself obliged to write in this, that *I am fully satisfied* that he published many things that he knew to be so:' And upon the concluding prayer of this celebrated performance, the noble critic takes leave of him in these words: '*Thus piously ends the most partial, malicious heap of scandal and misrepresentation that was ever collected, for the laudable design of giving a false impression of persons and things to all future ages.*'[1]

The letter in the Appendix will be found to corroborate Lord Dartmouth.

[1] Compare Macaulay, Hist. vol. ii. p. 177. *Second* Edition, with Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Burnet, Oxford Edition, 1833.

While the remarks in the text were passing through the press, it occurred to the Editor to consult some of the subsequent editions of Mr Macaulay's History, which the popularity of his work has so rapidly called for. Lo! in the *third* edition, the note above commented upon appears in this *amended* form. 'No person has contradicted Burnet more frequently, or with more asperity, than Dartmouth. Yet Dartmouth says, "I do not think he designedly published any thing he believed to be false." At a later period, Dartmouth, provoked by some remarks on himself, retracted *his praise;* but to such retractation *little importance* can be attached.' What *praise* did Lord Dartmouth retract? His justly severe notes on Burnet are in the hands of every reader. The *gross blunder* which runs through two editions of Mr Macaulay's great work, he does not *confess*, when he discovers it; but the blot (strange to say) not having been hit by his lynx-eyed reviewer, he hastens to *cobble* it with an unworthy attack upon the noble author, whom he had misquoted! The best answer is that by which any obvious blundering, or bad taste, or bad faith, is met in the House of Commons: 'Oh! oh!'

ORIGINAL PAPERS ILLUSTRATING THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH MONTROSE JOINED THE KING AGAINST THE PARLIAMENT. M.DC.XL.—M.DC.XLIII.

I. Montrose on the Supreme Power in Government of all sorts.

Noble Sir,—In the letter you did me the honnour to send me, you move a question in two words, to give a satisfactory answer to which requires works and volumes, not letters: Besides, the matter is soe sublime and transcendent a nature as is above my reach, and not fitt for subjects to medle with, if it wer not to do right to Soveraigne Power, in a time when *so much is said and done to the disgrace and derogation of it.* I will deliver my opinion, first concerning the nature, essential parts, and practice of the Supreme Power in *Government of all sorts.* Secondly, I will shew wherin the strength and weakness thereof consists, and the effects of both. Thirdly, I will answer some arguments and false positions maintained by the impugners of Royal Power, and that without partiality, and as briefly as I can.

1. Civil societys (soe pleasing to Almighty God) cannot subsist without government, nor government without a Soverainge Power, to force obedience to lawes and just command, to dispose and direct private endeavours to public ends, and to unite and incorporate the several members into one body politick, that with joint endeavours and abilitys they may the better advance the public good. This Soverainty is a *power over the People,* above which power there is none upon earth, whose acts cannot be rescinded by any other, instituted by God for his glory, and the temporall and eternall happiness of men. This is it that is recorded soe oft, by the wisdome of antient times, to be sacred and inviolable—the truest image and representation of the power of Almighty God upon earth—not to be bounded, disputed, medled with at all by subjects, who can never handle it, though never soe warrily, but it is thereby wounded, and the publick peace disturbed. Yet it is limited by the lawes of God and nature, and some lawes of nations, and by the fundamentall lawes of the country, which are those upon which Soverainge Power itself resteth, in prejudice of which a King can doe nothing, and those also which secure to the good subject his honnour, his life, and the propriety of his goods.

This power (not speaking of those who are Kings in name only, and in effect but *Principes Nobilitatis* or *Duces Belli,* nor of the arbitrary and despotick power, where one is head and all the rest slaves, but of that which is *Soverainge over free subjects*) is still one and the same, in points essentiall, wherever it be, whither in the person of a *Monarch,* or in a *few principal men,* or in the *Estates of the People.*

The essential points of Soveraignty are these:—To make lawes, to creat principal officers, to make peace and war, or to give grace to men condemned by law, and to be the last to whom appellation is made.[1] There be others, too, which are comprehended in those set down; but

[1] These were the prerogatives which Montrose had good grounds for perceiving, in 1640, that the Covenanting leaders were taking to themselves.

because Majesty doeth not soe clearly shine in them they are here ommitted. These sett down are inalienable, indivisible, incommunicable, and belong to the Soveraigne Power *privatively* in all sorts of governments. They cannot subsist in one individuall body, or in one body composed of individuityes; and if they be divided amongst several bodyes, there is no government,—as if there were many Kings in one kingdom there should be none at all,—for whosoever should have one of these, wer able to erasse their proceedings who have all the rest; for the having them *negativè* and *prohibitivè* in that parte to him belonging, might render the acts of all the others invalide, and there would be a superiority to the supreme, and an equality to the soverainge power; which cannot fall in any man's conceit that hath commone sense. In speech it is incongruity, and to attempt it in act is pernicious.

The nixt[1] Government, then, delineated by some (otherwise learned and wise men), is a mistaking that which deceives them; that in all sorts of Estates they who have the supreme power doe sometimes cast the care of publick business upon officers and *Commissioners* during their pleasure, who may be superseded, or recalled, or called to ane account at their pleasure.

Having in some measure expressed the nature of supreme power, it shall be better known by the universal practise of all nations, in all the several sorts of government, as well Republicks as Monarchyes.

The people of Rome (who were masters of policy, and warr too, and to this day are made patterns of both), being an *Estate popular*, did exercise without controulment or opposition all the fore-named points essential to supreme power. No law was made but by the People; and though the Senate in Parliament did propone and advise a law to be made, it was the People that gave it sanction, and it received the

[1] The '*nixt* Government' may possibly be the transcriber's mistake for *mixt* Government.

force of law from their command and authority; as may appear by the respective phrases of the propounder,—*quod faustum felixque sit, vobis populoque Romano velitis jubeatis.* The People used these imperative words, *esto sunto;* and if it were refused, the Tribune of the People expressed it with a *veto.* The propounder or adviser of the law was said *rogare legem,* and the People *jubere legem.* The election of officers was only made by the People; as appears by the ambitiouse buying and begging of suffrages, so frequent among them upon the occasions. Warr and peace was ever concluded by them, and never denounced but by their *Feciales* with commission from them. They, only, gave grace and pardon; and for the last refuge, delinquents, and they who wer wronged by the sentence of judges and officers, *provocabant ad populum.*

So it was in Athens, and to this day among the Swissers and Grissons, the Estates of Holland, and all Estates popular. In Venice, which is a *pure Aristocracy,* laws, warr, peace, election of officers, pardon and appellation are all concluded and done in *Concíglio Maggióre,* which consists of principal men who have the Soveraignty. As for the *Pregádi,* and *Concíglio di diéci,* they were but officers and executors of their power; and the Duck is nothing but the *Idol* to whom ceremonies and complement is addressed, without the least part of Soveraignty. Soe it was in Sparta, so it is in Luca, Genoa, and Ragusa, and all *Aristocracies;* and, indeed, cannot be otherwayes without the subversion of the particular Government.

If, then, the lords in Republicks have that power essential to Soveraignty, by what reason can it be denied to a Prince in whoes person only and privatively resteth the soverainge power, and from whom all lawful subaltren power, as from the fountain, is derived?

2. This power is strong and durable when it is temperat, and it is temperate when it is possessed, with the essential parts foresaid, and used with moderation, and limitation by the laws of God, of Nature, and the fundamentall laws of the Country. It is weak when it is restrained of the use of these essential points, and it is weak also when

it is extended beyond the laws whereby it is bounded; which could never be at any time endured by the people of the western part of the world, and by those of Scotland as little as any. For that which Galba said of his Romans is the humour of them all; *nec totam libertatem nec totam servitutem pati possunt,* but a temper of both. Unwise Princes endeavour the extension of it,—rebellious and turbulent subjects the restraint: Wise Princes use it moderatly; but most desire to extend it, and that humour is *fomented by advice of courtiers and bad counselours,* who are of a hasty ambition, and cannot abide the slow progresse of riches and preferments in a temperate Government: They persuade the arbitrary, with reflexion on their own ends, knowing that the exercise thereof shall be put upon them, whereby they shall be able quickly to compasse their ends, robbing thereby the People of their wealth, the King of the People's love due to him, and of the honnour and reputation of wisdome. The effects of a moderate Government are Religion, Justice, and Peace,—flourishing love of the subjects towards their Prince in whoes hearts he reigns,—durableness and strength against foraigne invasions and intestine sedition,—happiness and security to King and People. The effects of a Prince's power too farr extended is tyranny, (from the King if he be ill), or (if he be good) tyranny or a fear of it from them to whom he hath intrusted the managing of publick affaires. The effect of the Royall Power restrained is the oppression and tyranny of subjects (*the most fierce, iusatiable, and insupportable tyranny in the worlde*) where every man of power oppresseth his neighbour, without any hope of redresse from a Prince despoyled of his power to punish oppressors. The People under ane extended power are miserable, but most miserable under the restrained power: The effects of the former may be cured by good advice, satiety in the Prince, or fear of infamy, and the penns of writers, or by some event which may bring a Prince to the sense of his errors; and when nothing else can do it, (seing the Prince is mortal), patience in the subject is a soveraigne and dangerless remedy, who in wisdome and deuty is obliged

to tollerate the vices of his Prince, as they do storms and tempests, and other natural evils which are compensated with better times succeeding. It had been better for Germany to have endured the encroachments of Ferdinand, and after his death rectifyed them, before they had made a new election, than to have brought it to desolation, and shed so much Christian blood by unseasonable remedies and opposition. But when a King's lawful power is restrained, the politick body is in such desperate estate as it can neither endure the desease, nor the remedy which is force only. For Princes' lawful power is only restrained by violence, and never repaired but by violence on the other side, which can produce nothing but ruin to Prince or People, or rather to both. Patience in the subject is the best remedy against the effects of a Prince's power too far extended; but when it is too far restrained, patience in the Prince is so far from being a remedy, that it formeth and increaseth the disease; for patience, tract of time, and *possession*, makes that which was at first robbery, by a body that never dies, at last a *good title*, and so the Government comes at last to be changed.

To procure a temperate and moderate Government, there is much in the King and not a little in the People; for, let a Prince command never so well, if there be not a correspondent obedience there is no temper. It is not the People's part, towards that end, to take upon them to limite and circumscribe Royal Power—it is Jupiter's thunder which never subject handled well yet—not [the people's part] to determine what is due to a Prince, what to his People. It requires more than human suffieiency to go so even a way betwixt the Prince's prerogative, and the Subjects' privilege, as to content both, or be just in itself; for they can never agree upon the matter; and where it hath been attempted, as in some places it hath, the sword did ever determine the question, *which is to be avoyded by all possible means*.[1] But there is a fair and justifiable way

[1] Malcolm Laing says that 'Montrose was unconscious that humanity is the most distinguished attribute of an heroical character.' (Hist. i. 256.)

for subjects to procure a moderate Government, incumbent to them in deuty, which is, *to endeavour the security of Religion and just Liberty*, (the matter on which the exorbitancy of a Prince's power doth work), which being secured, his power must needs be temperate and run in the even channell. 'But,' it may be demandit, 'how shall the People's just liberties be preserved if they be not known, and how known if they be not determined to be such?' It is answered, *the laws contain them*, and the Parliaments (which ever have been the bulwarks of subjects' liberties in Monarchies) may advise new laws, against emergent occasions which prejudge their liberties; and so leave it to occasion, and not prevent it by foolish haste in Parliaments, which breeds contention, and disturbance to the quiet of the State. And if Parliaments be *frequent*, and *rightly constituted*, what *favourite counselour or statesman dare misinforme or mislead the King* to the prejudice of the subjects' liberty, knowing he must answer it upon the perrill of his head and estate at the nixt ensuing Parliament, and that he shall put the King to an hard choice for him, either to abandon him to justice, or by protecting him displease the Estates of his kingdome; and if the King should be so ill advised as to protect him, yet he doth not escape punishment that is branded with a mark of public infamy, declared enemy to the State, and incapable of any good amongst them.

3. The perpetuall cause of the controversies, between the Prince and his subjects, is the ambitious designs of rule in great men, veiled under the speciouse pretext of Religion and the subjects' Liberties, seconded with the arguments and false positions of *seditious preachers;* 1st, that the King is ordained for the People, and the end is more noble than the mean; 2d, that the constitutor is superior to the constituted; 3d, that the King and People are two contraries, like the two scales of a ballance, when the one goes up the other goes down; 4th, that the Prince's prerogative and the People's privilege are incompatible; 5th, what power is taken from the King is added to the Estates of the People. This is the language of the *spirits of division that walk betwixt the King*

and his People, to separate them whom God hath conjoined (which must not passe without some answer), to slide upon which sandy grounds these gyants, who war against the Gods, have builded their Babell.

To the 1st: It is true, that the true and utmost *ends* of men's actions (which is the glory of God and felicity of men) are to be preferred to all *means* directed thereunto. But there is not that order of dignity among the means themselves, or mid instruments compounded together. If it wer so, and a man wer appointed to keep sheep, or a nobleman to be tutor-in-law to a pupile of meaner qualitie, the sheep should be preferred to the man, and the pupile to his tutor.

To the 2d: He that constituteth, so as he still retaineth the power to reverse his constitution, is superior to the constituted in *that* respect; but if his donation and constitution is absolute and without condition, devolving all his power in the person constituted, and his successors, what before was voluntary becomes necessary. It is voluntary to a woman to chuse such an one for her husband, and to a People what King they will, at first; both being once done, neither can the woman nor the People free themselves, from obedience and subjection to the husband, and the Prince, when they please.

To the 3d: In a politick consideration, the King and his People are not two, but one body politick, whereof the King is the head; and so far are they from contrariety, and opposite motions, that there is nothing good or ill for the one which is not just so for the other; if their ends and endeavours be divers, and never so little eccentric, either that King inclineth to tyranny, or that People to disloyalty,—if they be contrary, it is mere tyranny or mere disloyalty.

To the 4th: The King's prerogative and the subjects' privilege are so far from incompatibility, that the one can never stand unless supported by the other. For the Soveraign being strong, and in full possession of his lawfull power and prerogative, is able to protect his subjects from oppression, and maintain their liberties entire; otherwise, not. On the other side, a People, enjoying freely their just liberties

and privileges, maintaineth the Prince's honour and prerogative out of the great affection they carry towards him, which is the greatest strength against foreign invasion, or intestine insurrection, that a Prince can possibly be possessed with.

To the 5th: It is a mere fallacy, for what is *essential* to one thing can never be given to another: The eye may lose its sight, the ear its hearing, but can never be given to the hand, or foot, or any other member; and as the head of the natural body may be deprived of *invention, judgment,* or *memory,* and the rest of the members receive no part thereof, so, subjects not being capable of the essential parts of government properly and privativly belonging to tho Prince, being taken from him, they can never be imparted to them, without change of that government, and the essence and being of the same. When a King is restrained from the lawful use of his power, and subjects can make no use of it, as *under a King* they cannot, what can follow but a subversion of government, anarchy, and confusion?

Now, to any man that understands these things only, the proceedings of these times may seem strange, and he may expostulate with us thus: 'Noblemen and gentlemen of good quality, what do you mean? Will you teach the People to put down the Lord's anointed, and lay violent hands on his authority, to whom both you and they owe subjection, and assistance with your goods, lives, and fortunes, by all the laws of God and man? Do ye think to stand and domineer over the People, in an *aristocratick* way,—[the People] who owe you small or no obligation? It is you, *under your natural Prince,* that get all employment pregnant of honnour or profite, in peace or warr. You are the subjects of his liberality; your houses decayed, either by merite or his grace and favour are repaired, your honours annexed to his authority, without which you fall in contempt; the People, jealouse of their liberty, when ye deserve best, to shelter themselves will make you *shorter by the head,* or serve you with an ostracism: *If their first act be against kingly power, their next act will be against you;* for if the people be of a fierce nature,

they will cut your throats, as the Switzers did,—if mild, you shall be contemptible,—as some of ancient houses are in Holland, their very burgomaster is the better man,—your honnours, life, fortunes, stand at the discretion of a *seditious preacher*. And you, ye meaner people of Scotland, who are not capable of a Respublick, for many grave reasons, why are you induced by spetiouse pretexts, to your own heavy prejudice and detriment, to be instruments of others' ambition? Do ye not know, when the Monarchical Government is shaken, the great ones strive for the garland with your blood, and your fortunes? Whereby you gain nothing, but, instead of a race of Kings who have governed you two thousand years with peace and justice, and have preserved your liberties against all domineering Nations, shall purchase to yourselves vultures, and tigers, to reign over your posterity, and yourselves shall endure all those miseries, massacres, and proscriptions of the triumvirate of Rome,—the Kingdom fall again into the hands of *one*, who of necessity must, and for reason of state will, tyrannize over you. For kingdoms acquired by blood and violence are by the same means enterteaned. And you great men (if any such be among you so blinded with ambition) *who aim so high as the crown*, do you think we are so far degenerate from the virtue, valour, and fidelity to our true and lawful Sovereign, so constantly entertained by our ancestors, as to suffer you, with *all your policy*, to reign over us? Take heed you be not Æsop's dog, and lose the cheese for the shadow in the well.[1] And thou *seditious preacher*,[2] who studies to put the sove-

[1] Montrose was right. Hamilton and Argyle were both aiming so high as the crown of Scotland, and both were made 'shorter by the head,' as well as their King.

[2] Baillie, September 1640, thus writes:—'Montrose, whose pride was long ago intollerable, and meaning very doubtsome, was found to have intercourse of letters with the King, for which he was accused publicly by the General, in the face of the Committee. His bed-fellow Drummond, his cousin Fleming, his ally Boyd, and too many others, were thought too much to be of his humour. The coolness of the good old General, and *diligence of the preachers*, did shortly cast water on this spunk, beginning most untimeously to reek.' Montrose instantly admitted, and justified the fact.

reignty in the people's hands for *thy own ambitious ends*, as being able, by thy wicked eloquence and hypocrisy, to infuse into them what thou pleases, know this, that this People is more incapable of soveraignty than any other known: Thou art abused like a pedant by the nimble-witted noblemen: go, go along with *them* to shake the present government,—not for *thy ends*, to possess the *People* with it,—but like a cunning tennis-player [who] lets the ball go to the wall, where it *cannot stay*, that he may take it at the bound with more ease.[1]

And whereas a durable peace with England (which is the wish and desire of all honest men) is pretended, surely it is a great solecism in us to aim at an end of peace with them, and overthrow the only means for that end. It is the King's Majesty's soveraignty over both that unites us in affection, and is only able to reconcile questions among us when they fall. To endeavour the dissolution of that bond of our union, is nowise to establish a durable peace,[2] but rather to procure enmity and war betwixt bordering nations, where occasions of quarrel are never wanting, nor men ever ready to take hold of them.

Now, Sir, you have my opinion concerning your desire, and that which I esteem truth set down nakedly for your use, not adorned for public view. And if zeal for my Sovereign, and Country, have transported me a little too far, I hope you will excuse the errors proceeding from so good a cause of

Your humble servant,

MONTROIS.[3]

[1] An illustration derived from Montrose's own experience in that manly exercise; see vol. i., p. 178.

[2] The treaty commenced at Rippon in the month of October 1640, and was afterwards continued in London, and closed at the time of the King's visit to Scotland in 1641.

[3] See Introduction for an account of this very interesting and able letter.

II. Axioms of Government from the Autograph of Archibald first Lord Napier. 1640.

Axioms.

1. All novatioun in Religion, and attempts upon the Lawes and Liberties of the Subjects, produceth dangerous effects.

2. Soverane power, in the person of one, few, or many, is the sole and only bond of human society. Never was there any company of men governed by religion, nor reason, for the diversity of opinions about both. Nor by love or virtue, most men being wicked and enclyned to hate. There must be a *coactive power,* to force obedience to lawes and just commandements. To weaken then this power is to dissolve society, overthrow government, and introduce confusion and disorder.

3. It is made weak when it is restrayned too far within; and it is weak also when it is extended beyond the true bounds: lyke a strong signet of gold, which may be extended to a great length and breadth, to almost an ayrie thinness, but thereby is extremely weakened: it is only strong and durable when it is temperate.

4. The *extent,* of kingly power, is the step next to tyranny, if the Prince be bad,—if good, to the tyranny of courtiers: The *restraynt,* to anarchy, (whether he be good or bad), and the tyranny and oppression of men of power in the kingdom. The tyranny of subjects—being the most fierce, insatiable, and insupportable tyranny—procureth that solecism of state, a miserable People under a good and just King.

5. Soveran power is a sacred thing, not to be defined, bounded, nor disputed of by subjects; indeed not to be meddled with at all by them, —they wound it though they touch it never so tenderly.[1]

[1] See the same sentiment, and expressions, in the letter from 'the Plotters' to the King, vol. i., p. 270; and also in Montrose's Essay on Government, immediately preceding, p. 44.

6. Subjects ought only to endevoir the security of there own Lawes and Liberties, whereby the soveran power, without their endeavoirs, by necessare consequense, must run in the own true and naturel channell, and keep a temperat cours, wherin consisteth the joynt happines of King and Subject. If it be short and restrayned, it is good for both that it be enlarged till it meet with the subjects' liberties and priviledg; and ther it ought to sist, for that is the true limitts of it: and if it be exorbitant, the Lawes and Libertyes of the People being securit (which is the subject an exorbitant power works upon), there is no mater, use, nor force in that exorbitancy; and therefore it must needs be temperat.

7. The King and his People make up one body politick, whereof he is the head, they are the members; and so near is the relation, as nothing is or can be imagined good or ill for the one which is not just so for the other. If there ends and endeavoirs be never so little divers, and excentrik, that Prince inclyneth to tyranny, or that People to disloyalty: if they be contrare, it is mere tyranny or mere disloyalty.

These maxims, and others of the lyk nature, not truly understood and practised, is the source of all disorders in the State. Arguments drawn from them, and the lyk, are the best ingredients in a wholsome counsel to a King, or to Subjects.[1]

[1] Original, Napier charter-chest. These Axioms are noted, in the handwriting of Archibald first Lord Napier, upon the back of the original draft of the letter to Charles I., which forms No. XI. of vol. i., Part III. But the Axioms were probably not a postscript to the letter sent to the King. They have been reserved for this place, as illustrating the principles upon which Montrose and his friends stood for the King against the Parliament, when the civil war commenced. They appear to have been noted about the end of the year 1640, at the crisis when that letter to the King, persuading him to come to Scotland in 1641, was written.

III. King Charles I. to Montrose, 7th May 1642.

Muntrose,—I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service; duty and loyalty are sufficient to a man of so muche honor ase I know you to be; yet, ase I thinke thus of you, so I will have you to beleeve of me, that I would not invite you to share of my hard fortune, if I intended you not a plentifull pertaker of my good. The Bearer will acquaint you with my designes, whom I have commended to follow your directions in the persuit of them. I will say no more but that I am

Your asseured friend,

Charles R.

Yorke, 7 May 1642.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. The letter is autograph of the King. As more particularly noticed in the Introduction to this Part, it affords, accidentally, a most complete refutation of the ridiculous but oft-repeated calumny, derived from some confusion in the manuscripts of Lord Clarendon.

Bishop Guthry thus records the particular occasion upon which it must have been that the King had addressed this letter to Montrose:—'While matters were at a height betwixt the King and Parliament, they at Edinburgh appointed a fast to be kept throughout the kingdom in the beginning of May [1642] thereanent: and it being ordinary, whensoever any plot was in hand, to grace it with a fast, it made all men to expect some great thing to follow; which was, that they sent up the Chancellor [Loudon] to York, to deliver their advice to his Majesty, and offer his pains for accommodation. It was expected that the King should have allowed him to go forward to London; but it was said his Majesty thought there were too many of them there already; therefore, instead thereof, he despatched him home again, to convene a frequent Council against May twenty-fifth, at which day, Roxburghe, Kinnoul, Lanerick, and Sir James Galloway, came down from the King to press his point.'—(Memoirs, p. 115.)

Montrose I know I need no arguments
to reduce you to my service, duty
& Loyalty are sufficient to a
man of so much honor as I know
you to be, yet are I thinke thus
of you so I will have you to
believe of me that I would not
invite you to share of my bad
fortune If I intended you not
a plentifull partaker of my
good, the Bearer will acquaint
you with my designes whom I have
commanded to follow your directions
in the pursuit of them, I will
say no more. but that I am

Yorke 7. May
1642

Your assured frend
Charles R.

IV. Reasons of Montrose and his Friends for joining the King against the Parliament. 1642.

Whether the King's autority should be mayntayned be us, or no?

It seems strange to me to enter a dispute whether we should be dutifull subjects or no; for in effect that is the state of the question. It is a prineiple, and is not to be controverted, nor put in deliberation—*nam qui deliberant desciverunt*—but the affirmative is to be firmly holden by good subjects, without dispute. That which is opposed against it is: our late treaty with Ingland,[1] which is very compatible with the duty of subjects, and nather doth, nor can it prejudice our duty to our Soveran, altho it wer (as it is not) conceaved and expressed in terms derogatory to the same. For if all the Princes of the earth should ligue together to tak from God his due (who is there Sovereign, and lord paramont over them all), there ligue wald not be obligatory. Even so no treaty among subjects to the detriment and prejudice of their Soveran's right (expressed in what tearms soever), can oblige themselves, or any other. At the best our treaty with Ingland is but a civil, a legall or politick paction of men, which can never be destructive of our obligation to our Prince, imposed upon us be the law of God and nature. For if voluntare pactions should be able to cancell divyne and naturel obligations, then should our will be our law, which is absurd, especially seeing of late in a most solemne manner we have covenanted the observation of the same before God and his people.[2] Besyd, that treaty was made for a durable peace betwixt the Inglish and us, which cannot

[1] The treaty of Rippon, which was concluded in London at the time of the King's visit to Scotland, in the autumn of 1641.

[2] This must refer either to the original Covenant, or to the King's settlement of Scotland in 1641. It cannot refer to the Solemn League and Covenant, as the document in the text was framed in opposition to the very proceedings of which that infamous contract was the fruit

possibly be mayntayned unles the band that unites us (which is the soveran power over us both), be strong, and in the own naturel vigour. And it is not to be imagined that these two warlyk nations, ancient enemies, and bordering one upon another, can be kept in peace (where there is daily cause of quarelling, and some too ready to tak hold of the occasion), if the band that unites them be weak, disabled, or dissolved. To desir, then, that treaty to be kept, and not to mantayn the autority that is only able to do it, is, by a most senseles solecisme, to desir the end, and not to endure the middes, which, in the tearmes things now stand in, seames to be the only meanes under heaven to procure peace; which Almighty God has put in our hands; and which, if we neglect, we sall never be able to answer, but must both be, and reputed to be, the cause of all those miseries and calamities that a Civil War brings with it: which, by only performance of our duty, may be prevented; for he that may and will not prevent a mischief acts it.

That our mantayning the King's lawfull autority is the only meanes of peace appeares by this reason. When men leave the highway of reason and equity, and follow that of interest and passion, there is but two wayes to reduce them, persuasion or force. The distractions and mutuall jealousies of these times ar too far advanced for persuasion or accommodation; but if there wer hopes of that cours, who is he that is able to sett down marches betwixt a King and his People? It requyres more than human sufficiency to walk so even a pace betwix the prerogative of the Prince, and the priviledg of the subject, as sall content both, or be just in itself; and where it hes been attempted (as in Ingland and other places it hath) it wes but a plastering, and the skin drawn over the wound, which festered efter, and wes ever cured by the sword. There rests, then, no other meanes but that of force; for as it is violence that hes dispossest the King of his autority, it is force on the other syd that can repossess him. And certanly it is in our power, by the favour of God, to re-establish him, and, consequently, a settled peace betwix the King and his subjects, and the subjects among them-

selves, by only doing that which by all the lawes of God and man we ar obliged to do: which is, to declare ourselves willing to mantayn his Majesties lawfull autority with our persons and fortunes. For if the adverse partie sall find the King possest with the hearts of this people, together with these forces which in Ingland will stick to him (where there is no doubt many loyal subjects), it will make them hearken to reason, and yeeld to his Majestie those rights justly belonging to Monarchy, which his royall predecessors enjoyed: and further, I persuade myself, he will never desir nor demand (having by experience found the danger of his power too highly strained); and to grant him that, rather than adventure a dangerous war, will never (I should think) be refused by wyse men, who know that it is not the way of peace to bind the Lyon so hard as the blood burst out,—the sight whereof enrages him, and makes him break his bands,—but they will suffer him to enjoy his naturel liberty, who is so noble and generous, as he will only prey for necessary food, and not for destruction, lyk the base beasts of the field.[1]

[1] Original MS. Napier charter-chest; in the autograph of Archibald first Lord Napier. This must have been written before it had been openly determined to join the Parliament against the King, with the army that erossed the borders six months after the meeting of the Convention in Scotland, in the month of June 1643. Manifestly it is a note of the argument upon which Montrose and his friends were for supporting the Monarchy, and evincing the good faith of Scotland, against the rebel Parliament.

In a letter dated 2d June 1643, Baillie, writing in one of his half-crazy fits of excitement at a new impulse given to the movement, indicates that the object of the Convention, just carried, was well understood: 'We are all a-flight for this great meeting. It is expected there will be Commissioners from the Parliament of England *to require us to arm for them.* We have a solemn fast in all the land Wednesday before the 22d, and Sunday before the Wednesday. We had never more need of God's mercy—our sins are many—the divisions of our nobles open and proclaimed—the divisions of our church nothing less than they were.'

V. Petition of Montrose and his friends to the Council convened in Scotland, by order of his Majesty, on the 25th of May 1642.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesties Privy Consale: The Supplication of the Lords and Gentlemen undersigning: With all due respect,—

Sheweth,—That whereas it is more than manifest that his Majesties honour and lawfull autority, upon which the preservation of our Religion, Lawes, and just Libertics, the happines and peace of this Yle, next under God, dependeth (which can never long continue if the Soveran power which unites us together be weakened or disabled, and which by the law of God, our national allegiance, and solemn oath at his Majesty's coronation, and by our Nationall Covenant, we ar bound to mantayn), hath not only of late suffered detriment and diminution, but, from his Majesties letters, answers, declarations, and other papers coming to our hands, we conceave just caus of suspicion that the diminishing of his Majesties royal power is further intended, in a hyer measure than can stand with the dutie or securitie of good subjects to suffer: We, therefore, undersubscribers, out of our thankfullnes to his Majestie for his many and great favours bestowed of late upon this nation, and out of sense of dutie to God, our Countrie, and our King (which can never without impiety be disjoined), do in our own names, and theres who will adhear to us in this supplication, and ar not present, humbly desir that your Honours will be pleased to tak the present state of affaires into your serious consideration, and that yee will tak some such solide and vigorous resolution for re-establishing and maintaining his Majesty's authority and royal power (upon which dependeth the peace and prosperity of all his Majesties dominions, and which Almighty God it seems heth put in your hands), as in your wisdom yee shall

think fittest. And we, in all humility and loyalty, shall not be wanting to assist and second your endevours to that end, with our lyves and fortunes, to the effusion of the last drop of our blood. And your Honours' answer is expected by your———[1]

[1] Original corrected draft, in the handwriting of Archibald first Lord Napier. Napier charter-chest. Guthry, referring to Montrose's party who had signed the conservative Bond at Cumbernauld, says: 'The *Banded Lords*, so were they called, and other royalists, upon the noise of the Council's meeting, assembled also in the Canongate, and joined in a supplication to the Council for the King's interest, which was presented by the Earl of Kelly, Lord Erskine, Keir, and others; but was rejected with disdain, and the presenters checked for their boldness.'—(Mem., p. 116.) Spalding and Baillie also refer to it in the tone and temper consistent with their very opposite principles. These chroniclers both mention that it was signed by Lord Montgomery. Nothing could be more rational or temperate than this conservative move. It was met with the most insolent violence by the faction of Argyle. Another *Incident* was got up in order to overwhelm, by the usual covenanting means, the loyal petition. 'The Banders' had mustered in considerable numbers, being well attended, but without the slightest indication of hostility. The Chancellor and Argyle, according to Baillie, were more slenderly backed, and therefore, adds this reverend partisan, 'there was a *great rumour raised of a wicked design against Argyle's person;* but incontinent the gentry and ministry of Fife running over in thousands, and the Lothians, with the town of Edinburgh, cleaving to Argyle above expectation, the Banders' courage and companies of foot and horse melted away as snow in a hot sunshine.' Notwithstanding this excited account of the matter, it is obvious, from all the contemporary chronicles, that not an idea of violence or hostile collision, at this meeting of Council, had entered the minds of one of these loyal petitioners. Had such been their object, it is not likely that Montrose would have held back from the warlike array, as he appears to have done for the very purpose of preventing a clamour, or rendering the conservative meeting obnoxious. Neither is Lord Napier's name mentioned as having been present upon this occasion, although there is every probability that he had both advised and drawn the petition, of which the draft remained in his charter-chest. Argyle, not contented with the agitation he had successfully raised against it, took measures in the General Assembly (which met in the month of July thereafter, the Earl of Dunfermline being Commissioner) to prevent all such attempts in future. 'Montgomery's petition,' writes Baillie, 'came in hands; sharp enough flyting there was about it betwixt his Grace and Argyle; always for time to come we made an act against *such presumption*.'

VI. Another Petition to the same Effect.

To the Right Honourabill the Lords of his Majesties Privy Counsell the humble Petitione of a great many Noblemen, Gentery, and otheris occasionally meeting at Edinburgh,

Humbly Shewing :—That whereas we understand (by the lait letter of the King's sacred Majestie derected unto your Lordships, and the many other declarations, manifestos, and powerfull professions, formerly exprest and vowed be his Majestie to all his good subjects in both Kingdomes), his Majesties firme and royall resolutione, in the full grant and menteanance of the Religeone, Lawes, and Libertyes of thir his Majesties Kingdomes (as we his Majesties faithfull subjects in this his ancient and native Kingdome upone convinceing and undoubted prooff and experience have happely and to our great thankfulness and acknowledgments found), and lykewayes finding, by the saids declarations and many other prented paipers, the foull and unjust aspertiouns layd upon his saered Majestie (whereby his Majesties persone bothe and Government is teinted and shakin) cannot (out of our duety to God Allmighty, our naturell respects and affections to our King and native country, our incumbent regaird to all publick and commone interests), bot take the boldnes humbly to represent unto your Lordships (for ourselves and in the name of all who will adhere unto us) the great danger and hazard we your humble petitioners, and the rest of all this wholle Kingdome, ar likely to fall into by the breach of our nationall oath and Covenant (where we have so solemnely sworne, and attested Allmightie God, that efter our Religeone and Liberty we sould mentaine and defend, with our lyves, fortunes, and estaites, his Majesties greatnes and authority), and whereas now our Religeone bothe and Libertyes ar so fully and in such ane absolute and undenyable way setled and confirmed unto us; and that, unto the thrid place, bothe God, nature,

solemn oath, and deuty, doeth bind us to advert and concurr to the menteanence and defence of his Majesties honour, greatnes, persone, and authority, so much now in questione, Our most humble and earnest desyers unto your Lordships, thairfore is, that you may be favorably pleased to take his Majesties just interest, and all our eommone and bound deutyes unto it, into your Lordships' serious and tender considerationns, to the end his Majesties honour and royall authority may be preferred, his sacred persone had in safety, and we his faithfull, native, and duetyfull subjects exonerid of what both God and nature will requyre, and the world expect at our hands; being confident that none can be in so much mistake as to misconceive we sould intend (by these) the least oecasione of any truble or exceptions amongst the natioums, or the smallest grudg or discontent twixt pairtyes in aither of the kingdomes; bot only (as we attest Almighty God the searcher of all hearts) the performance of those duetyes so manyfoldly requyred at our hands. So hopeing your Lordships will consider upone it, in the tearms that befitteth so much goodnes and justice (notwithstanding the eluds or vapours which hes or may be interposed to the contrary), and your Lordships' answer we most humbly expeett.[1]

[1] Original draft, Napier charter-chest. This draft, though found with the foregoing, is not in the handwriting of Lord Napier. One or other must have been the petition to which Baillie frequently refers, in terms so bitter and violent, that it would not exactly have suited his purpose to place the petition itself in juxta-position with his own comments upon it. He was much enraged at its being presented by Lord Montgomery, whose dominie he had been, and whom he laboured incessantly, and with various success, to withdraw from his allegiance. Guthry, however, says that the petition 'was *presented* by the Earl of Kelly, Lord Erskine, Keir, and others.' This suggests the idea, that two conservative petitions may possibly have been presented to the Council at this time; that, of which the draft is in Lord Napier's handwriting, by the above noblemen; and the other by Lord Montgomery. But this is not probable, as the tenor of both are so very similar. Baillie, as minister of Kilwinning, ruled the Eglintoun family with a rod of iron. He was translated to his professorship in Glasgow in the month of June 1642, and thus refers to the fact in a letter

VII. King Charles I. to the Earl of Dunfermline, 23d July 1642.

Charles R.—Right trusty and right welbeloved Cosen and Counsellour: Wee require you carefully to observe these our following instructions:—

1. You shall in our name assure the Assembly, that wee desire nothing more than that the Reformation of Religion, as it is established

to Spang:—'My great grief for my Lord Montgomerie his change of party, notwithstanding of all I could either say or write to him, and for his presenting *that infamous supplication*, did further me in my purpose to leave him: yet he was very vehement in the Presbytery that day for my stay, as also my Lord of Eglintoun, his father, thereafter, in the visitation of our church.' There were times, however, when this noble family felt the iron rod of their dominie rather heavy. The Earl having expressed his displeasure to third parties, at some impertinent personalities against him by Baillie from the pulpit, the latter instantly took that high ground which his sect never more vehemently asserted than when most in the wrong. 'They behoved to know,' he said, 'I was the servant of God, and would not spare to reprove sin in the face of King Charles, let be of all the Earls of Scotland.' The occasion of this exercise of priestly authority is also characteristic. 'I had been oft grieved,' says Baillie, 'with the excessive drinking of sundry of my parochiners: when my Lord Eglintoun's daughter, my Lady Yester, was going to be married, I went over and *admonished my Lord*, and his children, and his servants, that they would beware of excess; and in regard my Lord Seatoun, Lord Semple, and other Papists would be present, I entreated the ordinar exercises of religion in the family might not be omitted for their pleasure: notwithstanding all were omitted. My Lord Eglintoun himself stayed out of the Kirk, on Sunday afternoon, to bear my Lord Seatoun company.' (See Baillie to Spang, 10th May 1642.) Moreover, Lord Montgomery had made the marriage-party merry in his house. So Baillie, who also complains that his stipend was ill paid, abused the family from their parish pulpit. Immediately followed 'the infamous supplication,' presented by Lord Montgomery; and Baillie became a Professor in Glasgow.

[1] This, and the following papers of the Earl of Dunfermline, were found, some years ago, by the Editor in the charter-room of Fyvie Castle, in Aberdeenshire. The late William Gordon, Esq. of Fyvie, at that time its most hospitable owner,

by the Acts of the Kirk and laws of the country, unto which wee have given our Royall consent, be preserved in truth and unity, both against papistry, and against the sects and divisions. And that no motions shall ever come from us against it, but that we will use our authority for it.

2. You shall see that they be carefull of planting the kirks in the remote parts of the kingdome, and of visiting the kirks already planted in those parts. Because we still learn, to our great griefe, that many of the people there doe live in Ignorance, Barbarity, Adultery, Incest, Sorcery,[1] &c.

3. That since, out of our good affection to Religion, wee were pleased to grant libertie to the Presbiteries to sett downe a list of sixe men to be sent to us, out of which wee are to choose one for any vacant place which is att our presentation, order might be taken that none but able and well qualified men be named unto us in the list.

permitted the Editor to transcribe whatever historical documents he might there find. This he did carefully with his own hand; but the rigid antiquary must excuse the fact, that he had not thought of retaining the antique orthography, in the whole of the transcripts. The Editor has not been able to discover these Dunfermline papers printed elsewhere. Fyvie Castle was the seat of the Earls of Dunfermline, Lords of Fyvie and Urquhart. It then passed into the Aberdeen family.

Bishop Guthry says:—'Upon the last Tuesday of July 1642, the General Assembly met at St Andrews, and Mr Robert Douglas was chosen Moderator. The Earl of Dunfermline, being his Majesty's Commissioner, presented to the Assembly a letter from his Majesty, full of gracious expressions to this Church, and wherein he craved, in recompense of all his favours, no more but that the ministers would, by their doctrine and example, labour to keep his subjects in their duty. The letter having been read and considered, the Assembly resolved to return his Majesty a letter of thanks, wherein they promised so to do.'—(Mem., p. 119.)

The King's admirable letter, and the extra lip-loyal reply of the Assembly, are both printed in Mr Peterkin's 'Records of the Kirk of Scotland,' 1838. But not the private instructions to the Commissioners, nor any of the documents found in the Fyvie charter-room.

[1] This indicates that the superstitions, so curiously illustrated in the first volume of these Memorials (p. 98), still existed in Scotland.

4. Since we have been pleased to provide competent means for Colledges, care must be had that the vacant places be filled with the best and ablest men, and that with convenient diligence.

5. That the Ministers neither suffer themselves nor the People, by the misinformation of bad instruments, to be drawne from that loyalty of heart which they owe unto us, but that they judge of the sincerity of our professions by the reality of our actions.

6. That there be no motion made in the Assembly, of things that concerne them not, and that you receive from them their just and temperate desires, that they may be represented unto us.

Given at our Court at Leicester, the three and twentieth day of July 1642.

To our Right trusty and Right welbeloved Cosen and Counsellour, Charles Earl of Dumfermling, our Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Kirke in our Kingdome of Scotland held at Saint Andrews.

VIII. King Charles I. to the Earl of Dunfermline, 29th July 1642.

Charles R.—Right trusty and right well beloved cousin and councillor, —We greet you well. By the order of our two Houses of Parliament, whereof we have herewith sent a copy, we perceive that it is insinuated as if we were not disposed to peace, but inclined to make war in this our kingdom. We have therefore thought good by these to require you to make known, as well to the Assembly now at St Andrews, as to all our good subjects in that our kingdom, the gracious answer we gave to that petition, and to let them understand how far our life and

practice hath been from using any ways tending to the effusion of blood, —that there is no party of Papists about us, which is a suggestion feigned merely to render us disgustful to our subjects,—and we doubt not but our real actions will have more credit with our subjects there than the bare words and assertions of any disaffected to our person and government. You shall hereby likewise receive a copy of the reply of our two Houses to the answer we sent to their petition, whereby they absolutely refuse all our gracious and just propositions for a means to reconcile all differences, and to settle peace and quietness in this our kingdom. As for the matter of Religion, and Government of the Church, we are resolved to maintain it as by the law it is here established, until it shall be legally reformed and altered; and to this we are bound by oath and conscience. Thus much we would have you to communicate to the Assembly there in our name, and to assure them that if we had any other affections than a desire to settle peace here, both in the Church and Kingdom, we should not so easily have passed by the many affronts done to our person, and the slaughter and daily injuries done by Sir John Hotham, and his adherents, upon our good subjects. Of your performance hereof we shall expect a particular account from you in convenient time. Given at our Court at Beverley, the 29th day of July 1642.

To our Right trusty and Right well beloved
cousin and Councillor, Charles, Earl of
Dumfermling.

IX. The Earl of Dunfermline to King Charles I., 5th August 1642.

Most Sacred Sovereign,—Whether matters please or not, I must, according to your Majesty's trust, make a true and timeous relation, knowing that your Majesty will put no more, of all that is done, upon

my attempts, but that which I assent unto in your Majesty's name. The Assembly hath made choice of the Lord Maitland[1] to be the bearer of their answer of the declaration sent from the Parliament, and of their supplication to your Majesty, which I could not hinder. He is directed first to come to your Majesty with them, and [then] go to the Parliament, of which I conceive it to be necessary to give your Majesty timous advertisement, that before his coming your Majesty may, in your royal wisdom, consider whether it be more for your Majesty's service that he be stayed, or permitted to go forward, both which (in my weak judgment), have their own inconveniences; for his stay may be evil construed here, and his going may prove prejudicial to your Majesty's service there; for certainly if he had no other business, they would send another bearer; and I know they have sent it to their commissioners already. Whatsoever be the impressions your Majesty receives of my carriage, I wish at God I may no longer live than I continue your most sacred Majesty's obedient subject,

DUMFERMLING.

St Andrews, 5th August 1642.

[1] Maitland, then a shining light of the Covenant, and the adored of the Covenanters, became afterwards the notorious Lauderdale, the terror and the scourge of the second race, remnant, or rump of the Covenanters. Baillie, in his epistolary record of this crisis, says: 'Upon *Argyle's contriving and motion*, Maitland unanimously was sent as our Commissioner to King and Parliament, wherein he proved both wise, industrious, and happy.' This, in fact, was the unequivocal signal of the most determined disloyalty, and rancorous intolerance, on the part of the Kirk, which, the minute before, was whining at the feet of the King. Compare their answer to the King's letter with their immediate and subsequent acts. But, as Baillie confesses, it was 'Argyle's contriving and motion.' Baillie also says: 'There was much debate for reading *the Parliament of England's letters:* The Commissioner was *passionate* that no answer might be given to them till the King's licence might be obtained for that end. When *his weeping* could not obtain this, Southesk [Montrose's father-in-law] suggested the delay of answer only for twenty-four hours. This also was refused.' The result was Maitland's commission to the Parliament; and under these circumstances the royal Commissioner writes the above letter to the King.

X. King Charles I. to the Earl of Dunfermline, 7th August 1642.

Charles R.—Right trusty and right wel beloved cosen and counsellour, Wee greet you well. The many great affaires wherein wee ar presently ingadged hath broken up so much of our tyme, that till now we could not conveniently returne you ane answer of your letters of the 2d of August. Wee are glaid the General Assembly wes satisfied with our letters, and understood them according to our intention, which truely wes no other then they did expres.[1] As for the supply of ministers for Scotland, wee leave it altogether to the Assembly, not doubting but they will be cairfull thair brethern there may not want these spiritnall comforts which ar necessary for such as lyes under so great afflictions. As for the letters and such other papers as come doune from our Scottes Commissioners at London, wee are confident the Generall Assembly will make such use of them as may witnesse to the world thair reall affection and earnest desire to serve us. And as you have hitherto punctually observed our directions (whereof wee shall not be omnyndfull) so wee doubt not but you will als cairfully continue as you have begun to discharge the trust wee have put into you, and from tyme to tyme acquent us with your proceedings. So wee bid you farewell, from our Court at York, the 7th of August 1642.

To our right trustie and right wel beloved
cosen and counsellour the Earle of Dumfermling, our Commissioner for the Generall Assembly now at St Andrews.

[1] This letter had been despatched ere that from the Commissioner, dated two days before, could have reached its destination. The whole of the King's instructions and letters were dictated by a truthful and pure spirit of Christianity, of which this unfortunate, ill-advised, incessantly-provoked, and not always prudent monarch, was a rare example among his turbulent people. There never was a grosser outrage upon the truth

XI. King Charles I. to Montrose, 27th August 1642.

Montrose.—I send Will Morray to Scotland, to enforme my friends in the estat of my affaires, and to require both theyr advice and assist-

and justice of history, than Mr Macaulay's unqualified condemnation of the Christian King. There never was a grosser insult to the ancient dynasties of England, and the Christian chivalry of her people, than his declaration, that the ruffian Cromwell was 'the greatest Prince that has ever ruled England;' or when he speaks of 'evils mitigated by the wisdom and magnanimity of the great man [Cromwell] who held the supreme command.' As a historian, Macaulay has identified himself, in spirit and expression, with the judgment-seat of the butcher Bradshaw. And in supporting this *rôle*, the vivacious, accomplished critic, and unexceptionable ballad-maker, stumbles upon inconsistencies and nonsense that would discredit a tyro. Let us take an example. Macaulay asserts that the imposition of the liturgy in Scotland, was a step 'taken in the mere wantonness of tyranny, and in *criminal ignorance*, or more criminal contempt, of public feelings;' and that it was a 'senseless freak.' (Hist., vol. i., p. 94.) This is applied to Charles. What sort of history is that, which on this well-worn subject, halts between the accusations of *ignorance* or *contempt*, and applies the same condemnation to either? If the historian had examined the inextricable entanglement of the King's information relative to Scotland, he must have perceived, that to speak of *criminal* ignorance, was to talk nonsense. A school-boy would not have characterised the measure as a 'senseless freak.' That nonsensical phrase has no application whatever to its origin, conduct, or motives. Rashly advised, ill timed, and worse conducted, the scheme was hereditary, and long hallowed in the mind of Charles. It was conscientiously associated with every idea of good government in his head, and every Christian feeling in his heart. Nay, *the principle* of the scheme was instantly justified by the party aggrieved. This very Assembly to which the documents in the text refer, while overflowing with expressions of thankfulness, and lip-loyalty, to the King for conceding every thing to them, did, in utter disregard of the impassioned gestures, and tears of his Commissioner, not only entertain the overtures of the rebel Parliament, but the fifth clause of their reply to it runs thus: 'The Prelaticall Hierarchie being put out of the way, the work will be *easie, without forcing of any conscience*, to settle in England the government of the *Reformed Kirks, by Assemblies;* and the same article declares, that 'the Reformed Kirks do hold, without doubting, their Kirk-officers, and Kirk-government, by Assemblies higher and lower, in their strong and beautiful subordination, to be Jure Divino, and perpetuall.' (Records of

ance. You are one whom I have found most faithfull, and in whom I repose greatest trust, therfor I addresse him cheefly to you. You may creditt him in what he shall say, both in relation to my busines and your owne, and you must be content with wordes, while I be able to act. I will say no more, but that I am,

Your loving friend,

CHARLES R.

Nottingham, 27th August [1642.][1]

XII. MONTROSE TO GRAHAM OF CRAIGO, 20th October 1642.

LOVING COSSING,—Ther be so much amiss, and so many abuses committed, touching my directions ther att Oldmonros (as Robert Græme in the laue will shew you at greatter lenth), as I must intreat you to take the peanes to goe and putt ane order to them, in such ane way as you shall thinke most fitt. For the particulars I will be sparing,

the Kirk, p. 321.) This is the real and genuine spirit of the covenanting opposition to the 'senseless freak.' Its type is a termagant and a stool. Not a word of this from Macaulay, when he is maligning the King. But when, in a subsequent chapter, it suits his own romance to regard this identical national feeling as characteristic of what he designates '*this hateful faction*,' his description is precisely applicable to the government of Argyle, and the conduct of the Assembly over which Dunfermline presided in 1642. 'They [the Covenanters of 1685] wanted not only freedom of conscience for themselves, but absolute dominion over the consciences of others; not only the Presbyterian doctrine, polity, and worship, but the Covenant in its utmost rigour. Nothing would content them but that every end for which civil society exists should be sacrificed to the ascendence of a theological system.' (Macaulay's History of England, vol. i. p. 555, and vol. ii. p. 609.)

[1] Original, autograph of the King. Montrose Charter-chest. This letter is dated two days after the royal standard was raised at Nottingham against the rebel Parliament.

and only remitt you to what you may learne att greatter lenth; and continue

Your very loving cheiff,

MONTROSE.

Kingcardine, 20th October 1642.

I must earnestly intreat you to contrive that Mackintosh doe not dishonor himself, and wrong us all, by being thus abused with Argyle.[1]

For my loveing Cossing
Mr James Græme of Craigo.

XIII. COMMISSION FROM THE ARGYLE GOVERNMENT TO THE EARL OF LOTHIAN, TO NEGOTIATE THEIR INTERESTS WITH FRANCE

Apud Edinburgo primo die mensis Decembris, Anno Domini Millesimo sexcentesimo quadragesimo secundo.

THE Lords of Secreit Counsall of the Kingdome of Scotland haveing tane to their consideration the ancient Alliance and Confederation of the said Kingdome with the Kingdome of France, together with the dignities, priviledges, liberties, and immunities formerlie enjoyed by the Scottish nation of all ranks in France, upon deserving and honorabill grounds; and that for the present the samen are not enjoyed by thame, as hes beene particularlie remonstrate to his Majestie and the said Lords:

[1] The above letter was kindly communicated to me by Miss Graham of Fintry, who is in possession of the original. James Graham of Craigo was a younger brother of David Graham of Fintry. Macintosh of that Ilk was married to a daughter of the latter, which accounts for Montrose's anxiety to redeem him from the wiles of Argyle. The postscript indicates, that although Montrose was still living in retirement in his castle of Kincardine, he was watching events, and especially had his eye upon the arch-rebel.

Who being verie carefull and solicite for renewing, strenthening, and confirming the said auncient league and alliance betwixt the two kingdomes, and for restoring the subjects of this kingdome to thair former dignities, privileges, and immunities, preserving the same inteir in tyme coming, and repairing of thair losses,—and the saids Lords being authorised be his Majestie to appoint some to treate with such as shall be warranted be the Frenche King thereanent,—and haveing good proofe and experience of the affection and abilitie of his Majesties trusty Cousin and Counsellour, William, Earl of Lothian, Lord Newbottle,[1] to do good and acceptable service to his Majestie and the countrey in this particular,—Therfor the saids Lords of Privie Counsall hes nominated, elected, and chosen, made and constitute the said Earle of Lothian his Majesties Commissioner to the effect underwritten: Giveand, grantand, and committand to him full power and commission to repaire to the said Kingdome of France, and there to treate and deale with such as shall be warranted by the Frenche King, anent the restoring of the subjects of this Kingdome, of all conditions, to the privileges and liberties formerlie enjoyed by thame and thair predecessors in the said Kingdome of France; and for preserving the same inteir without anie diminution; and anent such losses as they have latelie susteaned by infringment of thair saids priviledges, and also touching the mutuall and reciprocall priviledges dew and acclamed by the Frenche within this Kingdome, and for strenthening and confirming thairof: With power to the said Earle to agree and conclude thereanent, according to the instructions heirwith given to him;[2] and to heare and receave all such propositions as shall be made for corroborating the said auncient league and alliance; to acquaint the King's Majestie and Lords of Privie Counsall thairwith;

[1] This Earl of Lothian was a bitter Covenanter, and ever at the command of Argyle, one of whose daughters was married to his eldest son. He was one of the very last to have selected, had the honest purpose been 'to do good and acceptable service to his Majesty and the country.'

[2] This proves that the Earl had separate private instructions from the Argyle Government.

and generallie all and sundrie other things to do, exerce and use, whilks for execution of this Commission, according to the instructions foresaid, is requisite and necessar firme and stable halding and for to hald all and whatsummever things shall be lawfullie done herein: Ordaining heirby the said Earle to make report of his proceedings to his Majestie[1] and his Counsall, to the effect the same be ratified in the nixt Parliament.

Sic Subscribitur,

Loudoun, *Cancellarius.* Hamilton. Argyle. Eglinton. Glencairne. Murray. Lauderdaill. Southesk. Dalhousie. Angus. Balcarres. Balmerino. Sir Thomas Hope.[2] J. Hamilton.[3] J. Carmichaell.[4] Dundas of that ilk.[5] W. Douglas.[6]

Concordat cum Originali.

[Endorsed]
Copie of the Erle of
Lothians Commission.[7]

[1] This was the style, but not the intention; see note at the end of this Number.

[2] Of Craighall, his Majesty's Advocate.

[3] Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, Lord Justice-Clerk.

[4] Sir James Carmichael of Carmichael, Treasurer Depute.

[5] Sir James Dundas of Dundas.

[6] Sir William Douglas of Cavers. This was but a small proportion of the Councillors, but it comprehended those most inimical to the interests of the King.

[7] This contemporary certified extract, of the Earl of Lothian's Commission to France in 1642, is found in the Napier Charter-chest. The editor is not aware that it is elsewhere printed. From a marginal reference to it, in Wood's edition of Douglas's Peerage, the original would seem to be in the Lothian Charter-chest. Perhaps the *Instructions* may be there also. Undoubtedly the object of the mission was to obtain the assistance of France, in favour of the rebel Parliament. Considering the state of matters in Scotland at this time, the attempt was far less excusable, and more discreditable to the country, than that in which Montrose himself was implicated, at the commencement of the Troubles, when the confederates addressed their celebrated letter 'An Roy,' meaning the French King. See as to that letter, and Montrose's share in it, the note on Bishop Burnet in the Appendix to this Part. But now, when, to

XIV. King Charles I. to the Earl of Dunfermline, 21st April 1643.

Charles R.—Right trustie and right welbeloved cosen and counsellour, wee greet you well. Since nothing on Earth can be more deare unto us then the preservation of the affections of our people, and amongst them none more then of these our native Kingdome, which, as the long and uninterrupted government of us and our predecessors over them, doth give us just reasone in a more neere and speciall maner, to challenge from them, so may they justly exspect a particular tendernes from us in every thing which may contribute to their happinesse. But knowing what industrie is used (by scattering seditious pamphletts, and employ-

use Montrose's dying expressions, 'the King had granted you all your desires, and you were every one sitting under his vine, and under his fig tree,'—this use of the King's own name and authority, to aid rebellion by invasion, was most disgraceful. It is stated in the Peerage: 'In 1643, the Earl of Lothian was sent from Scotland by the Privy-council, *with the approbation of Charles I.*, to make some propositions to the court of France, relating to certain privileges of the Scottish nation. On his return, he repaired to the King at Oxford, to render him an account of his embassy. There he was detained by his Majesty's order, under an *ungrounded* suspicion of treachery, and afterwards committed a close prisoner to Bristol Castle, where he remained several months; but was at length enlarged on the petition of the Committee of Estates.' Unfortunately for the peerage writer, Baillie himself admits the treasonable object. In a letter to Spang, dated 17th November 1643, he says: '*Our negotiation* at the Court of France, it seems, is *miscaryed:* Louthion, with nothing done, is returned. He *would not be disswaded* from going to Oxford, where, we hear, he is *laid up*, to our irritation:" and after some disdainful expressions against the loyal suggestions of a French emissary, Baillie adds: 'The friendship of the French, was never much worth to us, and now we regard it as little as ever.' Clarendon (Hist., vol. ii., p. 663, Oxford edit., 1843) says: 'Lothian, in the beginning of the rebellion, had been employed, *by the conspirators*, into France, and coming afterwards into England, *was imprisoned thereupon*, and being after set at liberty, continued amongst those, who, upon all occasions, carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most unplacable malice to the person of the King.' It is melancholy to find the illustrious name of Hamilton at this document, in such company, at such a crisis.

ing privat agents and instruments to give bad impressions of us and our proceedings, and under pretence of a danger to religion and government) to corrupt their fidelities and affections, and to ingage them in ane unjust quarrell against us their King, wee cannot, therefore, but endeavour to remove these jealousies, and secure their feares, from all possibilitie of any hazard to either of these, from us. Wee have, therefor, thought fitt to require you to call together your friends, vassalls, tenents, and such others as have any dependencie upon you, and in our name to shew them our willingness to give all the assurances they can desire, or wee possibly grant (if more can be given then alreadie is), of preserving inviolably all those graces and favours which wee have of late granted to that our Kingdom, and that wee doe faithfullie promise never to goe to the contrarie of any thing there established, either in the ecclesiasticall or civill government, but that wee will inviolably keep the same, according to the lawes of that our Kingdome; and wee doe wish God so to blisse our proceedings and posteritie, as wee doe reallie make gude and performe this promise. Wee hope this will give so full satisfaction to all who shall heare of this our solemne protestation, that no such persones as studies division, or goes about to weaken the confidence betwixt us and our people, and justly deserves the name and punishment of incendiaries, shall be sheltered from the hand of justice. And all such others as shall endeavour peace and unitie, and obedience to us and our lawes, may expect that protection and encrease of favours from us, which their fidelitie deserves. So expecting your care heirof, wee bid you heartily farewell, from our Court at Oxford, the 21st of April 1643.

To our right trustie and right welbeloved
Cosen and Counsellour the Earle of Dumfermling.[1]

[1] Original, Fyvie Charter-room.

XV. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 31st May 1643.[1]

Mon Cousin.—J'ai receu votre lettre, et par yselle vois que vous croiez que les affaires en Ecosse sont en fort mauvais etat pour le service du roy, et cela par ma negligence, pour n'avoir pas ecouté aux propositions qui m'ont ete fait a mon arrive; en cela j'ai suivi les commandemens du roy; mais je crois encore que si les bons serviteurs du roy veuille s'accorder ensemble, et ne perdre point de temps, qu' ils peuvent prevenir tout le malheur qui pourroit arriver de ce coté la: et pour moy, je contribuerai de mon coté tout ce que je puis; et lors que les armes qui viennent de Danemark seront arriveés, que j'attens tous les jours, si vous en avez besoin, vous en aurez, comme aussi aucune autre assistance que je pourrai, aiant toujour eu une tres grande confiance en vous et en votre generosité, que je vous assure n'est point diminué, quoique comme vous miserable j'ai oui que vous aviez faites amitie avec quelque personnes qui me pour-

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This letter is now very much destroyed and mutilated; but fortunately it had been printed while entire, in the Appendix to a translation of Dr Wishart's Commentary, published in 1720. There can be no doubt that it was written in the year 1643. It refers to Montrose's recent advice, when with her Majesty in the month of February of that year, to adopt the most immediate and energetic measures against the designs of the Covenanters in Scotland,—advice which the Marquis of Hamilton, playing into their hands, opposed and counteracted. It also alludes to some false rumours of Montrose's defection, arising out of the circumstances explained in the introduction to this Part. It may be as well to add a translation of each of these old French letters, as they occur.

Cousin,—I have received your letter, and perceive that you consider affairs in Scotland to be in a very bad state, as regards the interests of the King; and this owing to my own neglect of certain propositions submitted to me when I first arrived. In that I followed the commands of the King. But still I am of opinion that, if his Majesty's faithful servants would only agree among themselves, and not lose time, all the evil to be dreaded from that quarter, may be prevented. For my own part, I shall contribute to the utmost of my power. When the arms that are coming from Denmark, and which I daily expect, have arrived, you shall have whatever of them you

roit fait apprehender; mais la confiance que j'ai en vous, et l'estime, ne pendra pas sur de si petites fondemens que le commun bruit, ni sur une chose que si vous avez faite je suis assuré que ce n'est que pour le service du roy: Croiez aussi que de mon coté je ne manquerai pas a ce que je vous promis, et que je suis et serai toujours,

Votre bien bonne amie,

HENRIETTE MARIA R.

York, ce 31 May [1643.]

require, and every possible assistance from myself, who have always greatly confided in you, and in the generosity of your character. And this confidence, be assured, is not in the least diminished, although I too, like yourself, have been made unhappy by rumours, that you have formed an alliance, with certain persons, which might well create apprehension in my mind. But my trust in you, and the esteem with which I regard you, are not built upon so slippery a foundation as mere rumour, nor to be shaken by an event, which, if it be as reported, could only have been occasioned by your zeal for his Majesty's service. Be assured, moreover, that neither shall I fail in my promise to you, and that I am, and ever will be,

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, 31st May, [1643.]

APPENDIX TO PART IV.

I.

Bishop Burnet and the Rye-House Plot.

[The following very curious 'Memorandum,' which is quite unknown to History, was written by the celebrated Gilbert Burnet, of mendacious memory. It refers to that agitating crisis occasioned by the 'Rye-House plot.' The date is immediately after the suicide of Essex, and on the eve of the execution of Lord Russell. It is addressed to John Brisbane, Esq., Secretary of the Admiralty, who was the husband of Margaret Baroness Napier in her own right. This accounts for the fact that the valuable document has been preserved in the Napier charter-chest, where it yet remains. It is the original, and all in the handwriting of Burnet. The Memorandum is inclosed within the note.]

Dear Sir.—I have writ the inclosed paper with as much order as the confusion I am under can allow. I leave it to you to shew it to my Lord Halifax, or the King, as you think fit, only I beg you will do it as soon as may be, that in case my Lord Russel sends for me, the King may not be provoked against me by that. So, Dear Sir, adieu.

For John Brisbane, Esq.

Memorandum for Mr Brisbane.

To let my Lord Privy Seal know that out of respect to him, I doe not come to him. That I look on it as a great favour, that when so many houses were searched

mine was not, in which tho' nothing could have been found, yet it would have marked me as a suspected person. That I never was in my whole life under so terrible a surprise and so deep a melancholy as the dismall things these last two or three days has brought forth spreads over my mind; for God knows I never *so much as suspected* any such thing; all I fear'd was only some rising if the King should happen to die; and that I only collected out of the obvious things that every body sees as well as I doe; and to prevent that took more pains than perhaps any man in England did, in particular with my unfortunate friends, to let them see that nothing brought in Popery so fast in Queen Marie's days as the business of Lady Jane Grey, which gave it a greater advance in the first moneth of that reigne than otherwise it is likely it would have made during her whole life. So that I had not the least suspicion of this matter;[1] yet if my Lord Russell calls for my attendance now, I cannot decline it;[2] but I shall doe my duty with that fidelity as if any Privy-Counsellour were to overhear all that shall passe between us.

I am upon this occasion positively resolved never to have any thing to doe more with men of business, particularly with any *in opposition to the Court*, but will divide the rest of my life between my function and a very few friends, and my laboratory; and upon this *I passe my word and faith to you, and that being given under my hand to you, I doe not doubt but you will make the like engagements in my name to the King;* and I hope my Lord Privy Seal will take occasion to doe the like, for I think he will believe me. I ask nor expect nothing but only to *stand clear in the King's thoughts;* For preferment, I am resolved against it, tho' I could obtain it. But I beg not to be more under hard thoughts, especially since in all this discovery there has not been so much occasion to name me as to give a rise for a search; and the friendship I had with these two,[3] and their confidence in me in all other things, may show that they know I was not to be spoke to in any thing

[1] It is really curious to compare this solemn declaration, of his perfect ignorance of the existence of a conspiracy, with the History of his own Time, many passages of which prove that he *was* particularly cognisant of a dark revolutionary scheme, though to what extent is uncertain. Indeed, his most intimate friends were the leading conspirators.

[2] Yet by his History we are led to believe that Burnet's attendance on Lord Russell in his last moments was a determined act of magnanimous and fearless friendship. Speaking of his cousin Baillie of Jerviswood, who was imprisoned at the same time, he says,—'I also, at his desire, sent him books for his entertainment, for which I was threatened with a prison. I said I was his nearest kinsman in the place, and this was only to do as I would be done by. From what I found among the Scots, I quieted the fears of Lord Russell's friends.' But by this letter it appears that Burnet had enough to do to quiet his own fears.

[3] Essex and Russell.

against my duty to the King.[1] I doe beg of you that no discourse may be made of this, for it would look like a sneaking for somewhat, and you in particular know how farre that is from my heart; therefore I need not beg of you, nor of my Lord Halifax, to judge aright of this message; but if you can *make the King think well of it*, and *say nothing of it*, it will be the greatest kyndnes you can possibly doe me. I would have done this sooner, but it might have lookt like fear or guilt, so I forbore hitherto, but now I thought it fit to doe it. I choose rather to write it than say it, both that you might have it under my hand, that you may see how sincere I am in it, as also because I am now so overcharged with melancholy that I can scarce endure any company, and for two nights have not been able to sleep an hour. One thing you may, as you think fit, tell the King, that tho' I am too inconsiderable to think I can ever serve him while I am alive, yet I hope I shall be able to doe it *to some purpose after I am dead*; this *you understand*, and I will doe it with *with zeal*:[2] So, my dear friend, pity your poor melancholy friend, who was never in his whole life under so deep an affliction, for I think I shall never enjoy myselfe after it, and God knows death would be now very welcome to me.[3]

[1] But see the History of his Own Time! 'Lord Essex, being in the country, I went to him to warn him of the danger I feared Lord Russel might be brought into by his conversation with my countrymen. He diverted me from all my apprehensions, and told me I might depend on it Lord Russel would be in nothing without acquainting him, and he seemed to agree entirely *with me that arising in the state in which things were then would be fatal.* I always said that when the root of the constitution was struck at to be overturned, then I thought subjects might defend themselves; but I thought jealousies and fears, and particular acts of injustice, could not warrant this. He did agree with me in this; he thought the obligation between prince and subject was so equally mutual, that, upon a breach on the one side, the other was free; but though he thought the late injustice in London, and the end that was driven at by it, did set them at liberty to look to themselves, yet he confessed *things were not ripe enough yet*, and that an ill-laid, and ill-managed rising *would be our ruin.* I was then newly come from writing my History of the Reformation, and did so evidently see that the struggle for Lady Jane Gray, and Wyat's rising, was that which threw the nation so quickly into Popery after King Edward's days, that I was now *very apprehensive of this;* besides that I thought *it was yet unlawful.*'—Vol. ii., p. 355.

[2] This, and the concluding paragraph of the letter, alludes to the History of his Own Time, which he was then weaving. When, however, that posthumous work saw the light, there appeared the most villanous character of Charles II. it was possible to draw. And the character of Charles I. given in *that* work, so inconsistent with his adulatory style elsewhere, is no less disgraceful to Burnet: Swift notes upon it, 'not one good quality named!'

[3] There were, however, two wealthy wives and a bishopric, yet in store for our poor melancholy friend! It is amusing to compare this letter with Macaulay's estimate of Burnet. Among other things he says: 'Indeed it was not easy to wound Burnet's feelings; his self-complacency, his animal spirits, and his want of tact, were such that, though he frequently gave offence, he never took it.' (Hist., vol. ii., p. 130.)

Doe not come near me for some time, for I cannot bear any company, only I goe oft to my Lady Essex and weep with her; and indeed the King's carriage to her has been so great and worthy, that it can never be too much admired, and I am sure, if ever I live to finish what you know I am about, it, and all the other good things I can think of, shall not want all the light I can give them. Adieu, my dear friend, and keep this as a witnesse against me if I ever fail in the performance of it.[1] I am, you know, with all the zeal and fidelity possible, your most faithful and most humble Servant,

G. Burnet.

Sunday Morning, 17th July 1683.

[It is both instructive and amusing to compare some of the passages in the foregoing Memorandum by Burnet, not only with the compliments which he pays himself, in his posthumous History, but with the estimate of his character by those party writers who are desirous to exalt it. We have now produced a declaration under his own hand, that he was concocting a history—to use a cant phrase which Swift would have called as good as some of the Bishop's English—*on the sly*: 'One thing you may, as you think fit, tell the King, that though I am *too inconsiderable* to think I can ever serve him while I am alive, yet I hope I shall be able to do it *to some purpose after I am dead*: this you understand, and *I will do it with zeal*:' And again: 'The King's carriage to her [Lady Essex] has been so great and worthy, that it can never be too much admired; and I am sure if ever I live to finish what you know I am about, it, and *all other good things I can think of*, shall not want all the light I can give them.' As Mr Brisbane, to whom this was enclosed, died in the following year, he had no opportunity of testing the sincerity of his 'poor melancholy friend.' Probably he had saved him from the degradation of showing this petition either to Lord Halifax or the King. How did Burnet fulfil his solemn and gratuitous promise?

> 'When the Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be,
> When the Devil got well, the devil a saint was he.'

The Bishop tells a story of Charles II., alleging that he had it from Lord Cults, who had it from Monmouth himself, that the King went to the unhappy Duchess, and in simulated tears for her distress, endeavoured to persuade her to conceal the

[1] This 'witness,' which rises up against the Bishop at last, was buried in the Napier charter-chest, from the day of its date until the Editor brought it to light.

Duke in her own apartments, which nevertheless Charles thereafter ordered to be searched; and that Monmouth had escaped the snare, because, as he said himself, he knew his father too well to trust him. Upon this Lord Dartmouth, quoting high authority, notes, that when the Duchess was asked, at a future period, 'if she remembered any thing of this story, she answered, it was impossible she should, *for there was not one word of it true.*' Was this one of the 'good things' which the Bishop promised to 'think of,' and enlighten? While the King's carriage was 'great and worthy' to Lady Essex, had he acted like a villian to the wife of his son? Nor has Burnet recorded one word of that carriage, which he then declared 'can never be too much admired.' No, instead of throwing that glorious light upon his *morale*, which he so abjectly promised, he is busy recording such notices of the fate of his *physique* as this: 'Some parts of his inwards, and some pieces of the fat, were left in the water in which they were washed; all which were so carelessly looked after, that the water being ponred out at a scullery hole that went to a drain, in the mouth of which a grate lay, these were seen lying on the grate many days after' (p. 475.) The conrageous conduct of Charles II. at Worcester is notorious. Burnet accuses him of cowardice in terms very similiar to what he applies to Montrose; saying, that he lost the battle with too much indifference, 'and then showed *more care of his person* than became one who had so much at stake' (p. 478.) Was this one of the 'good things' which Burnet had thought of? How justly does Lord Dartmouth note (p. 479),—'There are so many contradictions and inconsistencies in this [Burnet's] *elaborate malicious character of King Charles the Second*, that whoever reads it, will soon find there is more of a disappointed churchman's revenge, than truth, in the whole composition.' But what if Lord Dartmouth had known (which thanks to Mr Brisbane he did not), that in this crawling letter Burnet promised, and desired the promise to be communicated to the King himself, that his Majesty's 'great and worthy carriage' to Lady Essex, 'and all the other good things I can think of, shall not want all the light I can give them'?

Then compare his history of the Rye-House plot, with that long melancholy howl of terror and despair. Turn from his own picture of the magnanimous, high-hearted, fearless Burnet, soothing the last hours of Russell in his prison, preparing his dying speech, and thereafter, contemptuous of all danger to himself, reading it with unshaken nerves beneath the frowns of the King and his Council—turn from that to our 'poor melancholy friend,' (who could do nothing but weep with Lady Essex), and his deprecating prayer, that, '*in case my Lord Russell sends for me*, the King may not be provoked against me by that.' 'If my Lord Russell calls

for my attendance now, *I cannot decline it;* but I shall do my duty with that *fidelity* as if any Privy Councillor were to hear all that shall pass between us'![1] And what a lusty Bishop arose out of this miserable Burnet, who was 'positively resolved never to have any thing to do more with men of business, *particularly with any in opposition to the Court*, but will divide the rest of my life between my function, and a very few friends, and my laboratory, and upon this I pass my word and faith to you'! Take this graphic specimen of what he grew into: 'Mr Anderson of Kirkmaiden tells me,' says the garrulous Wodrow, 'he heard this account from the Earl of Balcarres, nephew to my Lord Loudon, or his brother. The Earl of Loudon took in the youth one day to wait on Bishop Burnet, and told him he was the Earl of Balcarres's son. The Bishop, in his *open way*, welcomed him, and said, "I knew your father well; he was one of the *most arrant rogues and villains* I ever knew." This was his positive peremptory way of speaking of, and to, the greatest; and it may some way account for some passages of his History.' (Analecta, vol. iii. p. 303). But will it account for some passages in his MEMORANDUM?

Mr Macaulay has made it part of his scheme to white-wash Burnet. He has a page or two (Hist., vol. i. p. 175) of dictatorial and rounded periods on the subject, as if he could do that, for the Bishop, by imperious verbiage, which he could not attempt by proofs. The extraordinary manner in which he misrepresents Lord Dartmouth, for this end, has been already exposed (*supra*, p. 42). The noble critic's appreciation of the notorious churchman, is justified by every renewed inspection. How well does Burnet's promise, to leave behind him golden opinions of Charles II., and the fulfilment of that promise, illustrate Dartmouth's anecdote,—'Mr Secretary Johnston told me, that after a debate in the House of Lords, Burnet usually went home and altered every body's character as they had pleased or displeased him that day.' Then what a commentary is the melancholy memorandum, upon Mr Macaulay's assertion that Burnet's 'spirit was raised high above the influence either of cupidity or *of fear*;' that he was 'an upright, courageous, and able man;' that he was '*emphatically* an honest man;' and, finally, upon this magniloquent macaulayism,—'Alone among the many Scotchmen who have raised themselves to distinc-

[1] 'In 1683 Burnet narrowly escaped being brought by his friends into trouble by the Rye-House plot; and by his conduc ing the trial, and attending on Lord William Russel in prison and on the scaffold; and, particularly, by defending his memory before the Council, he incurred the odium of the Court, which, *from a certain knowledge of his integrity*, could not fail at this time *to be greatly afraid of him*.' (Chambers's Biographies, *voce* Burnet.) Mr Brisbane had that in his pocket which might have quieted the alarms of King and Council, if they felt any for Burnet.

tion and prosperity in England, he had that character which satirists, novelists, and dramatists, have agreed to ascribe to *Irish adventurers:* His *high animal spirits*, his boastfulness, his undissembled vanity, his propensity to blunder, his provoking indiscretion, his unabashed audacity, afforded inexhaustible subjects of ridicule to *the Tories'* (Hist., vol. ii. p. 176–7–9). And what will *the Whigs* say to our 'poor melancholy friend'?]

II.

A Calumny against King Charles I., arising out of the Scots Letter to the King of France, in 1639, traced to Bishop Burnet, and refuted.

In 1639, the Covenanters sought the mediation or aid of France. The subject is curious, from the contradictory accounts of the incident which have entered history. Baillie, in a letter to Spang, dated 28th September 1639, says:—'It was debated, if any help should be sought from strangers? The fardest that was resolved, was to send over one Colvine, a gentleman of Fyfe, who should go, by the States and Prince of Orange, to the Court of France, as our agent, for informing, and requiring, at most, the French King and States of Holland to intercede, by way of intreatie, with our King, that he might be pleased to hear our supplications; and one other, readily Meldrum, to the Queen of Sweden by the King of Denmark, for this same end. But *all was neglected;* not so much as a manifesto *was ever divulged to strangers by us;* wherein we were great fools, for it was much to our prejudice.' This seems to be a statement in perfect good faith, and its inconsistency with authentic records suggests the idea that Baillie was not in all the secrets of his own party. Bishop Guthry, whose narrative generally stands the test of the closest inspection, thus tells the story:—

'The Parliament of England having met April thirteenth [1640], the King, in his speech, enveighed against the proceedings of the Scots, and produced a letter subscribed, in April 1639, by many of their great ones, to the King of France for his assistance; which letter came to his Majesty's hands by this providence. At the subscribing of it there happened to be some of the great men absent, whom these present wished also might subscribe it. For which end they committed the letter to Mr Archibald Johnston, appointing him, as he found opportunity, to get their hands to it; but through negligence he lost it out of his pocket; and so it

passed from one to another, until it fell into Sir Donald Gorram's hand, who delivered it to the Earl of Traquair, and he to the King. The miscarriage of this letter they supplied afterwards by another of the same strain to the French King, with one to Cardinal Richlieu, *both which were sent to France*, by Mr Colvil, brother to Sir Robert Colvil of Cleish. Always, of that letter, which through miscarriage came to the King's hand, he made his own use; and indeed the Parliament of England was so affected therewith, as to be concurring with that course which was taken with the Scottish Commissioners, wherein the Lord Loudon had a harder measure given than the rest, because his hand was found at the letter.' (Mem. p. 69.) Guthry afterwards states (p. 83): 'So, upon Sunday August thirtieth, the Scots army entered Newcastle, where they found the King's magazine, both of arms and victuals, as also an opportunity of enlarging Mr Colvil, who had been sent by them to France with letters to the French King and Cardinal Richlieu, and *in his return* happened to be catched at Berwick, and from thence was sent prisoner to Newcastle.'

Guthry is confirmed by other records. 1. Among the manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, there is a letter from this very Colvil, to Lord Balmerino, acknowledging receipt of two letters, one for the King of France, and the other for the States of Holland, 'and at the same time *the secret articles*, from my Lord of Rothes.' Colvil's letter, dated 30th April 1639, was printed by Lord Hailes (Memorials. vol. ii. p. 57). 2. As Mr D'Israeli notices in his Commentaries (vol. iv. p. 351), another copy of that letter, which excited the alarm and indignation of Charles I., had actually reached France; for Monsieur Mazure discovered it in the State-paper office of France (Histoire de la Revolution de 1688, par Mazure, tom. iii., 405). As appears from the letter itself, which, whatever design it might cover, is most innocently expressed, it was signed by the following noblemen, in this order. Rothes, Montrose, Leslie, Mar, Montgomery, Loudon, Forrester. At this time, Montrose was still following the lead of Rothes, his original seducer, as this signature indicates.

Burnet, in his posthumous history, which he had kept beside him, as Lord Dartmouth so severely remarks, 'for the laudable design of giving a false impression of persons and things to all future ages,' gives this improved version: 'Montrose, being *vain and forward*, was the first and fiercest man in the opposition they made during the first war. He *both advised and drew the letter to the King of France*, for which the Lord Loudon, who signed it, was imprisoned in the tower of London.' But the Earl of Lauderdale, as he himself told me, when it came to his turn to sign

that letter, found false French in it, for instead of *rayons de soleil*, he had writ *raye de soleil*, which in French signifies a sort of fish; and the treaty came on so soon after, that it was never again taken up' (His Own Times, vol. i. p. 53). Burnet usually supports his libels by what he *was told* by this noble factionist, or that political female of fashion, or some equally trust-worthy source not named. Never was hearsay evidence more exceptionable than his. But the Bishop had previously recorded the anecdote, and Lauderdale for his authority, in his Memoirs of the Hamiltons, *without naming Montrose*. Moreover, he has not the support of a single contemporary chronicler, or record; and Colvil, in his letter to Balmerino, passes some criticisms upon the drafts sent him, and the consideration of these he remits to the Lords Balmerino, Rothes, and Lothian, and to Mr Robert Leighton, without an allusion to Montrose. The petty imputation is of little consequence, except as characteristic of Burnet. Montrose was ere long thoroughly ashamed of his rash signature being found in such company.

But a calumny of a more nefarious kind has entered history upon the authority of Burnet. This we shall give in the words of Malcolm Laing, who, by the way, rejects Burnet's authority as to the authorship of the French letter. Speaking of that detection he says: 'The Scots Commissioners were arrested, and it was believed that Loudon, *the author of the letter*, narrowly escaped execution in the Tower. A warrant to behead him in the morning *without a trial*, was brought by Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower, to the Marquis of Hamilton, who obtained access at midnight to the King's apartment, and *with difficulty procured the recal of an arbitary mandate*, by an assurance that Scotland would be lost for ever. The fact appears to be more conformable to the *precipitate counsels*, than to the *character* of Charles, who was arbitrary, but *averse to the execution of a sanguinary measure*'[1] (History, vol i. p. 171). This historian had himself seen that the anecdote was totally at variance with the character of Charles. It is the *pendant* in history to his other calumny that Montrose, two years afterwards, offered to assassinate with his own hand Hamilton and Argyle. Both stories bear upon the face of them the characteristics of a gross fabrication,—and Laing adopts them both. Loudon was Chancellor of Scotland, the leading Commissioner from that country, and adored by the faction which ruled it. He

[1] Why then did Malcolm Laing, when recording, from Clarendon, the *assassination* calumny against Montrose, omit Clarendon's important qualification, that the King *abhorred* the alleged proposition? See Introduction, p. 15.

was at this time continually passing as such between the factions in the two countries. Scotland would have been instantly ringing with the news, had it ever occurred that the royal warrant for his secret murder (for such it would have been) was issued, and only withdrawn at the last moment, in consequence of the desperate interposition of the Marquis of Hamilton. Loudon's temporary commitment was perfectly well known. He himself returned to Scotland without a word transpiring, either from himself, Hamilton, Balfour (the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was in the interest of the Covenanters), or any one else, that this fearful event had occurred. The King published his larger Declaration in 1640, and throughout all the excitement against his Majesty which that unanswerable manifesto created in Scotland, not a hint can be discovered that the Covenanters had this awful charge to retort against him. The readers who trust in Malcolm Laing, will scarcely credit, that this story is not alluded to in any one contemporary chronicle, diary, pamphlet, broadside, or letter of the day, with a single worthless exception to be immediately noticed. Baillie, Sir James Balfour, Guthry, Spalding, Sir Thomas Hope (in his Diary), Clarendon, Whitelocke, Saunderson, Rushworth, Sir Thomas Warwick, May, Heylin, Nalson, in short, contemporary writers of whatever faith and temper, are all equally silent as to such an event. Loudon himself lived to the year 1663, and a whisper of his having incurred such jeopardy, never reached the ear of one of 'the brethern' in either country, from that rampant rebel himself, who certainly entertained no such feelings towards Charles I. as would have induced him to be silent on such a subject. The time when he is said to have incurred the risk was after his commitment to the Tower, prior to the meeting of the English Parliament in the month of April 1640. Loudon was liberated upon the 27th of June thereafter, and immediately returned to Scotland, *carrying despatches from the King himself*, to his compatriots there. Not a hint transpired, as the correspondence of his intimate friend Baillie of itself suffices to demonstrate, that the Earl had just escaped from being secretly put to death, in prison, without a trial, by the sovereign from whom he brought those despatches. Upon the Scottish antiquary, Malcolm Laing, the fact of this silence, so abundantly proved by the sources in Scotland from which he wove his history, ought to have forced the conviction of its falsity. He stands without excuse, as the deliberate calumniator both of Montrose and Charles; and in reference to the calumny we are considering, the manner in which he pretends to sustain it with authorities, for the unsuspicious reader, enhances the criminality of his record. Those authorities he thus imposingly notes,

beneath the passage already quoted:—'Birch's Enquiry into the Transactions of Glamorgan. App. 373. The tradition *is alluded to* in Burnet's Memoirs, and mentioned *with aggravations* by Oldmixon, on the authority of the Duke of Hamilton; and by Scott of Scotstarvet, a contemporary, in his Staggering State of Scots Statesmen.' (Laing, vol. i. p. 171.)—The utter worthlessness of the whole of these authorities, to prove what Mr Laing asserts in his text, shall be exposed in detail, without following the order in the note.

1. That meagre and apocryphal *notanda*, attributed to Scott of Scotstarvet, and which is full of gross blunders, records this anecdote of the Chancellor Loudon: 'Being sent to the King from the Parliament, he was imprisoned in the Tower, and ran a great risk of his life, for there was a warrant sent to Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, to behead him; but Sir William procured a countermand by the Marquis of Hamilton's moyen, and so preserved his life; for which cause the Chancellor undertook to raise an army in Scotland to assist the King, and by Duke Hamilton's faction was chosen, at the Parliament 1648, President of that Parliament wherein the Engagement was concluded.' (Staggering State, p. 23.) Whoever noted this does not seem even to have been informed of the cause of Loudon's being committed to the Tower. And did Malcolm Laing fail to observe the gross anachronism which vitiates the unintelligible tale? Loudon's scrape of the French letter occurred in 1639; Hamilton's 'Engagement' in 1648. During the interval Loudon continued to be one of the most forward of the rebels. Moreover, it was he who pronounced sentence of death upon Montrose in 1650. Was Laing not aware that this jotter of scandal, whom he so jesuitically parades as 'a contemporary,' was unsupported by Loudon himself, or by a single contemporary historian, chronicler, or correspondent, of either side?

2. Oldmixon, so truly characterised by D'Israeli as a 'vile writer,' mentions *the tradition*, says Mr Laing, 'with aggravations.' But if this were an historical fact, relating as it does to a period, and to events, of which contemporary chroniclers are swarming, and an historical fact, moreover, of the most important description, how possibly could it rest merely on *tradition?* Then what is the force, or the sense, of Laing's hint, that Oldmixon told the story 'with aggravations'? Laing means (though he mystifies his readers) that Oldmixon tells the story with most improbable details and embellishments, to be found no where else. Does this strengthen, or, to use our historian's phrase, *aggravate* the authority? Mark the *dramatis personæ* introduced by Oldmixon. 1. Loudon himself in the Tower (to which he had been remanded, not by the King, but by the House of Lords). 2. Sir Wil-

liam Balfour, the keeper of the Tower, *playing at cards* with Loudon. 3. The King's messenger, who enters with *his Majesty's warrant* to put this State-prisoner secretly to death. 4. Loudon's lawyer, *not named*, who is sent for on the instant to make Loudon's will. 5. The Marquis of Hamilton, whom the Lawyer immediately seeks in order to save Loudon. 6. Lady Clayton, at whose house the Marquis is found, in the middle of the night. 7. The King, into whose bed-chamber the Marquis and the lieutenant of the Tower force an entrance, to have the warrant recalled. 8. The Queen, to whom the Marquis is most excessively impertinent while she is lying in bed with his Majesty! Here were eight persons cognisant of a most exciting affair, including Loudon's *own lawyer*, and yet a whisper of it never afterwards escaped the lips of Loudon himself, or reached the ear of agitated Scotland—a hint of it is not to be found in a letter of Warriston, Loudon's most confidential *lawyer*, or of Baillie, his most confidential clergyman, throughout the voluminous secret correspondence of those worthies! And what is the authority quoted for this trash, *with aggravations?* He names none; but he declares it to be 'too noble to be called in question,' and notes on the margin '*MS.* M. F.'! Upon this reference we find some light cast in the preface, wherein the author states: 'The assistance I had by printed histories, old pamphlets, and state-papers, was at least as good as any historian could hope for; and it will be allowed, when it is known that I was assisted by Francis Bennet, Esq., of Sherefield in Dorsetshire; and *Dr Fraser of London*, who had been fifty years making collections of histories, pamphlets, and papers proper for my subject.' Manifestly, the otherwise mysterious marginal reference, 'MS. M. F.,' means, the manuscript of this Mr or Dr Fraser, whom we shall presently bring into close connexion with the chief conspirator, Bishop Burnet. Such is the authority upon which Oldmixon narrates his incredible and impossible calumny against Charles I., adding this joyful comment of his own: 'This story is so well known to all the people of the first quality in *North Britain*, that I am not afraid to conclude from thence, there was no passion so strong in King Charles the First, as the desire of arbitrary power, and revenge on those whom he took to be his enemies;' a gloss upon the story for which, it will be observed, Malcolm Laing had substituted a very different one of his own. Oldmixon's work was published at London, in the year 1730, in the lifetime of Fraser, but after the death of Bishop Burnet.

3. This fiction, the most impudent and ridiculous that was ever palmed by malevolence upon History, attracted little or no attention, until, in the year 1756, Dr Birch published his second edition, with an Appendix, of what he entitled 'An

Inquiry into the share which Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan,' &c. One of the avowed objects of this appendix is to prove, that, much as the character of Charles I. has been assailed, it might have been blackened still more, 'if the *friends to the King's memory* had not taken *an uncommon care* to suppress such evidences as would have discredited their panegyrics upon him.' Strange to say, Dr Birch illustrates this proposition from the conduct of *Burnet*, whom he calls 'an historian distinguished in general for the *freedom* of his pen.' The learned author's book concerns Ireland, which probably had infected *his* pen; for a more Irish mode of proving that 'friends to the King's memory' had taken 'uncommon care' to protect it, can scarcely be conceived, than this report of an oral calumny against the King, vented by Burnet (the *enemy* of Charles), 'in the company of several English Peers,' he declaring at the same time that he had suppressed it, in his Memoirs of the Hamiltons, as something too atrocious to put in print![1]

Dr Birch quotes 'a *memorandum*, written by Dr White Kennet, then Bishop of Peterborough, in the blank leaf of his copy of Burnet's Memoirs, now in possession of the Hon^ble. Mr Charles Yorke, of Lincoln's Inn' (p. 372). The substance of

[1] There is also something very *Irish*, in the treatment of this calumny, by the Historiographer Royal for Scotland. 'This is so *extraordinary* an event,' says Mr Brodie, 'that I rejected it in the first instance; but, on *maturer reflection*, I have seen it in a different light. It does not appear ever to have been *a popular story;* for I do not find it alluded to *in the letters of the times*, and, *therefore*, cannot be supposed an invention to blacken the royal character.' This is a very extraordinary sequence. Because the voluminous correspondence of Loudon's compatriots and intimate friends, such as Warriston, and Baillie, with whom that exciting incident could not fail to have both been, and been made, *most popular*, is absolutely silent on the subject—because there is not a single *contemporary* chronicler (except the miserable anachronism on the subject attributed to Scotstarvet), of either side, who alludes to such a story, *therefore*, we must not suppose it *an invention!* Our historian, moreover, fortifies himself with such an argument as this. 'It is *hinted at* in Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons, which were written at a period when he was a thorough courtier; and though that work was revised by Charles II., and his ministers, the passage does not appear to have been objected to.' (See Brodie's Hist., vol. ii, p. 515). But there is no hint of it in Burnet's *posthumous* history, wherein he is any thing but 'a thorough courtier,' except as to lying. One excellent reason, however, why Charles II. and his ministers should have made no objection to the passage in the Memoirs of the Hamiltons, is, that it *does not hint* at any such story. In conclusion, Mr Brodie adds; 'Loudon's life was spared; but he lay *many months* a prisoner in the Tower.' Not the fact. The warrant, for his commitment to the Tower, is recorded by Rushworth (p. 1103), and bears date 11th April 1640. Loudon returned to Scotland, on amicable terms with the King, and carrying despatches from him, upon the 27th of June thereafter, having been about two months committed. See the documents produced by Burnet, in his history of the Hamiltons. This disposes of the Historiographer Royal for Scotland's adoption of the calumny.

the memorandum is, that upon Thursday, 5th February 1719, *Mr Fraser*, who is there designed late Secretary of Chelsea-college, told Kennet, that soon after the publication of Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons, he, Fraser, being 'in the company of several English peers,' along with Burnet, one of these peers accused the latter of 'having left out several things for fear of offending the Court;' that Burnet admitted the charge, but excused himself by saying—'I could not put down every thing I found in the papers committed to me, because some things would not bear telling;' that Burnet, however, immediately did proceed *to tell* a story, of which he professed to have found some record among the Hamilton papers, to this effect: 'While Loudon was in the Tower [in the short interval, be it observed, between 11th April and 27th June 1640], King Charles I., in his passionate resentment against him, sent a warrant to Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, to execute the prisoner for high treason, the next morning.' This, the lieutenant communicated to his prisoner, who grievously complained of the barbarity, and urged the lieutenant to go for the Marquis of Hamilton; which accordingly he did. These two instantly went to the King, but had some difficulty in obtaining audience, as his Majesty was in bed. First, Sir William Balfour 'fell on his knees at the bedside,' and prayed for a recall of the warrant; but the angry King was inexorable. Then entered the Marquis of Hamilton, 'and fell likewise on his knees before the King, and begged that he would not insist upon such an extraordinary resolution.' The King still held out, but was at length moved by the Marquis's parting threat, 'I'll go, and get ready to ride post for Scotland to-morrow morning; for I am sure before night the whole city will be in an uproar, and they'll come and pull your Majesty out of your palace: I'll get as far as I can, and declare to my countrymen that I had no hand in it.' Upon which threat, 'the King said, *give me the warrant;* and taking it, *tore it in pieces.*'

The memorandum quoted by Dr Birch proceeds to say, that having delivered himself of the anecdote—'Is this story now, *said Mr Burnet*, fit to be told? *All the company stood amazed, and held up their hands.*' And well they might, at Burnet's telling, to a company of peers, a story *not fit to be told*, and impossible to be believed. Kennet's memorandum adds: 'Hearing this story, *says Mr Frazier*, with my own ears, I once related it to the late Duke of Hamilton, who was killed in a duel; and his grace said, that he had often run over the papers, from which Dr Burnet drew out his materials for this book, and he had them now in his custody in Scotland; and he well remembered that there was such *a relation* there given, and that he verily believed it to be true.'

It is singular that Dr Birch, who records this trash, *con amore*, in 1756, should not have known that the same story had been published by Crawfurd, in his life of the Chancellor Loudon in 1726;[1] and also (as already noticed) by Oldmixon, in 1730. The whole three, Crawfurd, Oldmixon, and Kennet, differ essentially in the details. Crawfurd has it, that Hamilton went to the King's bed-chamber without Sir William Balfour, and immediately succeeded in his mission of mercy, because, 'his Majesty was in his own nature both just and merciful, and *tender of blood;* and the result he records is, that, 'in that instant *a message was sent to the lieutenant*, countermanding his order, which he was to communicate to the Lord Loudon, which very much set his Lordship at ease.' Oldmixon and Kennet, again, both state that *the warrant* was in the bed-chamber, and there torn, in presence of Hamilton and the lieutenant of the Tower, by the King himself. Oldmixon, however, to use Malcolm Laing's curious phrase, tells the story 'with aggravations.' When the messenger brought the warrant to the Tower, the lieutenant, then *playing at cards* with his prisoner, received it, 'changed countenance, and holding up his hands in amazement, shewed his lordship the warrant, who said to him, *well, Sir, you must do your duty; I only desire time to make a settlement on some younger children, and that you will let my lawyer come to me for that end:* to which Balfour consented; and *the lawyer* carried away with him a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, informing him of the matter, and telling him he was a Scotchman, and must answer it to his Country' (p. 140). Not a word of all this in Kennet's memorandum. Nothing about a lawyer and the will. His version is somewhat more consistent with the character of the violent Loudon; for Kennet has it, that, instead of instantly yielding to his fate, and whining about his will and his children, he desired *Balfour* to go directly and obtain the protection of Hamilton. Yet it is important to observe, that both Oldmixon and Kennet quote *Fraser;* and Kennet's version, in which we have Fraser's extremely loose authority of 'the late Duke of Hamilton, who was killed in a duel,' at once clears the meaning and proves the full value, of Oldmixon's mysterious flourish of authority, when he says, 'The story has to vouch it an authority *too noble to be called in question.*'[2]

[1] The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown, and of the State, by George Crawfurd, Esq., vol. i. Printed at Edinburgh, 1726. No other volume was published.

[2] Lord Hardwick had found no *relation* of the kind among the Hamilton Archives, when he examined them for publication in 1788. But he found 'A *Relation* of the lucident, 1641, by Lord Lanerick'—'to cut the throats of both of Argyle, my brother, and myself' Some vague recollection of this must have been in the mind of that Duke with whom Fraser says he conversed.

Thus it would seem that Fraser had afforded one version of the story to Oldmixon, and a different version to Bishop Kennet!

Dr Birch was more anxious to discover a story against Charles I., than to investigate the truth of it. He seems also to have been ignorant that the same Mr Fraser had primed the well-known Wodrow, who had a vast appetite for such loose and calumnious gossip, with the very story; and this *fourth* edition of it, coming from the same source, again differs essentially from all the others. Wodrow, in his MS. ANALECTA, which he entitled 'History of remarkable Providences, mostly relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians,'[1] notes, that, 'In conversation with Mr James Frazer, Esq., generally named *Catalogus*, he tells me severall remarkable passages.' After narrating some of this gossip, Wodrow adds:—'Mr Frazer further tells me, that *after the Revolution*, he was in company with Bishop Burnet, *the Earl of Clarendon*, and some others, and the conversation began to turn upon historians; and some of the company began to regrate the partiality and reservedness of historians, and that they did not narrat what was proper to them to tell. Bishop Burnet said, ther wer many things fell in to the observation of a historian, in his search after facts, which wer not proper to communicate to the publick; and gave this for an instance: That when he was writing the History of the Dukes of Hamilton, he met with a passage, in the archives at Hamilton, as to which he *appealed to my Lord Clarendon* whether it was proper to publish it?—and it was this.' Wodrow then proceeds to narrate the story in terms of Kennet's version, but not of Oldmixon's; as the scene at cards, and the intervention of a *lawyer*, and the Queen in bed with his Majesty, and bullied by Hamilton,—are incidents not to be found in Wodrow's version. But the King's angry and obstinate determination to have the secret warrant instantly obeyed, and Hamilton's desperate threats, especially 'that he was of opinion that to-morrow before this time, the city of London, upon hearing of this unaccountable step, would rise, and, for what he knew, tear him to pieces,'—are all in Wodrow. Then mark the extraordinary *various reading* that follows, and compare it with Kennet, as quoted by Birch:—

'After he (Hamilton) was *gone down stairs*, a message from the King came to him, ordering him to return. The threatening from the city of London stuck with the King: and when the Marquis *came back*, the King said,—*Well, Hamil-*

[1] Wodrow's Analecta, printed from the MS. in the Advocate's Library, for the Maitland Club, in four volumes, 1824. See Vol. II. pp. 379, 382, 383, 384.

ton, I have yielded to you for this once: Take you the warrand, and do as you please with it: My informer adds, that in a few days, meeting with Duke William of Hamilton, he gave him a hint of what he had heard in conversation; and the Duke answered, *Mr Frazer, it's all true, and fact; and the warrand itself, and a narrative of the whole, under the Marquise's hand, is among my papers at Hamilton:* And that the last Duke, James, confirmed the same to him some years after, in conversation.'

Here the warrant, which, according to Oldmixon and Kennet (both of whom had the story from Fraser), was torn by the King himself in the bed-chamber, is said (in the version which Wodrow had from the same person) to have been deliberately handed by his Majesty to the Marquis (called back for the purpose), to be by him used as he pleased,—to be put in a pamphlet, or pasted on the cross. The merciful and loyal Marquis, however, merely writes a narrative of the whole affair, and puts that, along with the warrant, into his own charter-chest! Yet, be it also observed, Mr Fraser, when he told Bishop Kennet the story, did not pretend that the Duke had said that he had seen 'the warrant itself,' with the narrative, among his papers. On the contrary, the warrant was destroyed in the bed-chamber, according to that account; nor in that is the Duke made to speak with any knowledge or certainty on the subject; nor are the two Dukes quoted. Yet Wodrow's narrative proves that Fraser was reporting to him precisely the same incident that, according to the memorandum, he had reported to Kennet.

Fraser, we are told by Wodrow, was called *Catalogus*. That is to say, he was a walking catalogue, or mine of literary information. This is confirmed by Oldmixon, who speaks of the histories, pamphlets, and papers wherewith his friend had aided him. But these walking catalogues should be very accurate and honest men, or the sources of history become wofully polluted. See how Wodrow has polluted the innocent Macaulay.[1] We can identify this *Catalogus* as the very same 'Mr Fraser, Esq.,' who primed Crawford, Oldmixon, Kennet, and Wodrow, with the four different versions of the most disgraceful of the many calumnies that have entered History against Charles the First.

Among Wodrow's MSS. in the Advocate's Library, there is preserved a cor-

[1] It can easily be shown, and he may depend upon it, ere long, will be shown, that Mr Macaulay's account, of the character and conduct of the glorious Dundee, is the rash adoption of a low-born, low-bred calumny. It is only worthy of having been written by a Covenantress,—not one of those 'young plants of grace, sae couthie and slie,'—but the old crone and her stool. See his Hist. vol. i. p. 498, under the head, 'Cruel treatment of the Scotch Covenanters.'

respondence between himself and a literary friend, to whom the address is sometimes 'Mr James Frazer, Esq.' and sometimes, 'The learned Doctor James Frazer, at his lodgings in the Haymarket, at the Golden Angell, London.'[1] There can be no question that this is the *Catalogus* of his Analecta. That this, too, is Bishop Kennet's 'Mr Frazier,' is proved by the coincidence of the story told by him to both. The correspondence above referred to is principally upon the subject of materials for Scottish history; and in a letter from Fraser to Wodrow, dated at London, November 5, 1728, he takes occasion to mention, as a particular literary friend of his, 'Mr Professor Crawford.' This was the well-known peerage writer, and antiquary, George Crawfurd, whose Lives of the Officers of State, published in 1726, has been already quoted. Crawfurd's Life of Loudon, as one of the Chancellors, is the earliest print of that calumny against Charles I. which I have been able to discover; for Oldmixon did not appear until 1730. Crawfurd quotes no other authority for it than the MS. of Scots-tarvet. This, however, could not be his sole authority; for he gives details which are not to be found in what he quotes. But the mystery is solved, when we find that, two years after the publication of his Lives, *Catalogus* is writing of him as one of his intimate literary friends. Crawfurd, however, was friendly to Charles I., and as he could not stomach the anecdote without putting it into a loyal dress of his own, probably he thought it as well not to quote Fraser. As for Oldmixon, that *his* Doctor Fraser is *Wodrow's*, could hardly be doubted, at any rate. But when we find the latter thus writing to his friend (30th March 1730). —'I have not got farr throu Mr Oldmixon (so we have the author named here, and I would gladly *have an account of him from you*),[2] but am exceeding pleased with his lively free way of writing, with much spirit, and a due sense of liberty,'— all doubt vanishes, and we have the key to '*MS.* M. F.'

If the humane character of Charles the First, if the total absence of probability, and *vraisemblance*, in the fable itself, be not a sufficient refutation of this vile calumny, the circumstances already stated, that *Loudon himself* never breathed a syllable of such an adventure, that his intimate and constant correspondents, Warriston and Baillie, never dropt a hint of it, that every historian and annalist, of

[1] A selection from these letters will be found printed in that useful compilation of historical antiquities, entitled, ANALECTA SCOTICA, edited by James Maidment, Esq., Advocate.

[2] Oldmixon published anonymously.

all the well watched transactions of that very period, are equally silent, ought to extinguish it for ever. Yet it is most fitting to give it the *coup de grace* from Burnet himself. Observe the dates. The warrant for Loudon's commitment is dated 11th April 1640. In the month of June thereafter, the day not given, but on or immediately before the 26th, Loudon writes, with his own hand, a long memorandum to be shown to Hamilton. Burnet produces this (p. 169) from the Hamilton papers. The memorandum is most respectful to the King. It speaks of 'the balance of his Majesty's righteous judgment;' of 'his Majesty's justice and goodness;' of 'his royal benignity;' and of 'his royal justice.' It refers to various petitions *previously presented* to his Majesty, in behalf of him, Loudon, now in the Tower by reason of the French letter. It excuses that letter upon several grounds; and, in humble and affectionate terms of loyalty, begs Hamilton's intercession with the King, for 'such a speedy delivery as may give demonstration to the world of his Majesty's justice and goodness.' Surely there could have been no warrant to take off his head in prison, and without a trial, *before* Loudon addressed this memorandum to Hamilton. Burnet himself tells us what *instantly* followed; '*Upon this* the Marquis pressed the King much for my Lord Loudon's enlargement, since the Covenanters made great noise with it in all their complaints, and pretended that they durst send up no more Commissioners; and therefore they sent their Acts in the packet: He did also shew his Majesty that he knew, by the Lieutenant of the Tower, that Loudon was very fearful; wherefore he desired permission from the King to try what *this fear* could draw from him; and to see if his enlargement, with the hopes of a noble reward, could engage him to the King's service; which, if obtained, might prove of great advantage; since the irritations he had received would make his advice less suspected in Scotland: *His Majesty approving of this,* he treated with Loudon, and found him abundantly pliant; and so, on the 26th of June, he agreed with him on these terms, which he got under Loudon's hand, in two papers yet extant' (p. 170). These papers are also printed by Burnet, and not a little disreputable they are to Loudon. He promises his earnest and loyal exertions in favour of the King against his own compatriots, and to prevent the Scotch army convening, or crossing the borders—promises which he did not, and never could have meant to perform, as his whole conduct evinces. 'Upon this,' proceeds Burnet, 'Loudon was enlarged *next day* (27th June 1640), and permitted to go down to Scotland.'

Let the reader pause upon this passage from Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons. It is the *true story,* because it is vouched by the original documents which

he prints along with it. It is absolutely contradictory of the other. The two stories cannot possibly exist together. Loudon had only been in the Tower since the 11th of April. The King complained of Loudon to the Parliament which met some days after. There could have been no such fearful warrant issued prior to the 26th of June, and no such desperate intervention of Hamilton to save the prisoner from being *murdered*. The tenor of Loudon's own petition proves this; and also the tenor of Hamilton's sly and composed suggestions to the King, to gain Loudon, who 'was very fearful,' and with whom he then 'treated, and found him abundantly pliant.' What becomes of the incident of the secret warrant, with all its dramatic accompaniments? Loudon is released the very next day, and proceeds forthwith to Scotland, bearing a letter to the government there, from Lanerick, which his Majesty commanded his secretary to write, as dispatches for Loudon! This letter is instantly carried to Scotland by that nobleman. Was Scotland in a blaze with a story of their chief Commissioner having narrowly escaped murder in prison? Would Loudon have *held his tongue* about an event, of which, as the calumny goes, Hamilton had written a *relation*, and put it into his charter-chest? A breath of it never reached Scotland. Nay more. Burnet has printed the reply of the existing government in Scotland, to the Secretary's letter, and the first sentence of it runs thus: 'We received your Lordship's letter of the 27th of June from the Lord Loudon, *whose relief out of prison* gives us occasion (before we answer your Lordship's letter) to acknowledge the same as *an act of his Majesty's royal justice and goodness*, although the pretended cause of his imprisonment was but a malicious calumny of the enemies of the King's honour and our peace, *forged*[1] to engage both his Majesty's Kingdoms in a national war.' This letter, dated at Edinburgh, 7th of July 1640, is signed by the following members of the Committee of Estates: Lindsay, Balmerino, Burghly, Napier, J. Murray, G. Dundas, Ja. Sword, J. Forbes, Ed. Edgar.

It has been assumed by Oldmixon, Birch, Laing, Brodie, and other writers of that class, that, when Burnet says, in his Memoirs of the Hamiltons (p. 161), in reference to Loudon's commitment, 'There were some ill instruments about the King who advised him to proceed capitally against Loudon, which is believed *went very far*'—he meant a covert allusion to the calumny to which it is said he afterwards gave vent. Impossible. For Burnet immediately adds: 'His Majesty, *being of himself both just and good, did reject those cruel counsels*.' By 'cruel counsels'

[1] Referring to the address of the French letter 'Au Roy,' which part of it Loudon declared had been added by some secret enemy of theirs.

he meant no more than the advice that Loudon should undergo a trial for high treason. The documents which he produces, prove that he could not possibly have meant the calumny in question. Nor does the Bishop tell any such story in his *posthumous* work, wherein he grossly libels both the Charleses.

After the above was sent to press, a curious note, in Gordon's History of Scots Affairs, relating to this very subject, came under the Editor's observation, which he had not previously noticed. Through the excellent print of that valuable manuscript, edited for the Spalding Club in the year 1841, by Mr Joseph Robertson, it is now known that James Gordon, of the family of Pitlurg and Straloch, designed Parson of Rothiemay, left in manuscript a History of Scots Affairs from 1637 to 1641. This was compiled by him shortly after the Restoration. Under the year 1640, he notices the fact of Loudon's imprisonment on account of the French letter; and some time afterwards he appears to have added this marginal note:—

'*Nota Bene.*—In the tyme that Lowdone was prisoner in the Tower, there was an expresse warrant sent, under the privy seale, to Sir William Balfour, keeper thereof, ordering him upon sight therof to beheade Lowdon instantly: This order he communicated to Lowdone, who advysed him to enquyre at the King if fraude wer not in it. Sir William Balfour came to the King's bed-side and produced the warrant that very night, comming upp the river in a pair of oares to Whytehall. The King startled, *and swore that he knew not of it*, but he thought it *the devyce of that cheate Nedd Hyde;* and therupon ordered Sir William Balfour presently to dismiss Lowdone home into Scotland, which he did, and freed Lowdone *from the terror* that he was in all that whyle after he saw the warrant.'—(Vol. iii. p. 147.)

We have no faith in this comic anecdote, unsupported as it is by a hint from Loudon himself or any of his coadjutors. Neither is the story very credible on the face of it. Yet it adds another to the irresistible arguments already afforded against the calumny in question. Here there is no calumny whatever against Charles the First. It is a version totally different from the varieties already quoted. James Gordon died on the 26th of September 1686. The precise chronology of the above note cannot be ascertained, but it must have been added to the MS. sometime after the Restoration. It differs essentially from Scotsarvet's meagre anachronism, as that differs from all the varieties of the full blown calumny, emanating from Burnet and Fraser. Scotstarvet died in 1670, at the age of eighty-two. He was the friend and literary patron of James Gordon, and of his father, Straloch. Had this old 'staggering statesman,' whose worthless note-book staggers in every

page, furnished his friend with *another* and a *totally different* version? Be this as it may, it will be observed, that while Oldmixon, Wodrow, Birch, Laing, and Brodie, are all, in their generations, recording a most calumnious form of this anecdote against the maligned King, here is *an older*, perhaps *the oldest*, version of it, which actually makes King Charles the good genius of the story!

There is a curious coincidence, however, which a comparison of James Gordon's version with Burnet's account of Loudon's release (already quoted), cannot fail to suggest. Burnet tells us expressly, that his own hero, Hamilton, thus meanly advised the King, that as Loudon 'was very fearful,' he, Hamilton, might be permitted 'to try what *this fear* could draw from him.' Now, while this statement of Burnet's is quite incompatible with that calumnious story which Fraser promulgated upon his authority, it has an odd coherence with James Gordon's anecdote. Was this warrant, which the King is said at once to have disclaimed, and to have pronounced 'the devyce of that cheatt *Nedd Hyde*,' in reality the attempt of *that cheat Hamilton*, to work upon Loudon's *fears*, as he proposed to the King? To add to the ridiculous confusion of the record, while this version makes the King attribute the hoax to Clarendon, *Wodrow's* version has it, that Clarendon himself was the peer whom Burnet astounded, and caused to 'hold up his hands,' by narrating a scandal which he declared unfit to be told!

And the climax of the absurdity, that the head of a political peer was to be taken off in secret, at the sole desire of the King, and by the extraordinary sanction of a *warrant under the privy seal*,—which, as the privy seal was then held by Hamilton's brother Lanerick, could not have been prepared without the previous knowledge of both,—of itself renders it quite inexcusable for such historical antiquaries as Birch, Laing, and Brodie, to have polluted history with such calumnious nonsense.

Whether Burnet, or Fraser, or Oldmixon, be answerable for the calumnious details, or what was the first idea of the fable, is of little consequence to its refutation. When Oldmixon's history was published, in 1730, Fraser was eighty-five years of age. This is proved by a passage in one of Wodrow's letters to him, dated 22d April 1730, where he says, 'I congratulate you on your reaching eighty-five years.' Wodrow had the anecdote from him a few years before. Kennet, in 1719.

This dissertation, it is hoped, will not be thought out of place in these Memorials. The Introduction to this Part contains a precise refutation of the gravest

charge that has entered History against Montrose. In conclusion, we have no less precisely exposed a calumny, of the very same nature, against the Sovereign whom he served and loved. Each of them were sent, by wicked men, to their last account before Heaven, without ever being conscious that a crime of this description was, or was to be, laid to their account on earth. The latest, and not the least popular historian of England, intensely occupied with political feeling, and deeply imbued with poetical fancy, happens not to be strongly impressed with the principle of historical justice. He has not, indeed,—in that preliminary chapter, wherein he records Charles I. with a pen dipt in the gall of Bradshaw,—even mentioned the name of Montrose. *Non polluit ore dapes.* But against the King, while he has proved nothing, he asserts every thing. His general anathema requires the support of every calumny that has ever been vented against Charles I. Being a party writer of this uncompromising spirit, he could not afford to refute or disown even that which he would not venture to record. One distinguished writer, however, the elegant and ingenious biographer of Charles I., had seen the necessity of meeting the calumny in question. But acute and rational as are the few paragraphs which he devotes to the subject, Mr D'Israeli (vol. iv. p. 357) had not sufficiently prepared himself for the refutation of an anecdote so precious to the enemies of Charles. His strongest argument is the improbability of the tale. He refers, indeed, to Oldmixon's still wilder version; and he shrewdly surmises, 'that Oldmixon's mysterious manuscript, M. F., of which he does not assign the place where it may be found, was some collection by the *Mr Frazier* who told Burnet's tale.' But with regard to that fact, and the history of this Fraser, and his previous different versions of the story to Crawfurd and Wodrow, this gifted writer had not informed himself. Nor had he gone through all the contemporary chroniclers, and manuscripts in Scotland, so as to fortify himself with the irresistible argument of the *contemporary silence.* Neither was he aware of James Gordon's older version of the incident, that is actually complimentary to the King. And he had even omitted to notice that the narrative of Burnet himself, when recording the trouble which the French letter brought upon Loudon, and the documents which he produces, are absolutely contradictory of the story which Fraser so variously reported from the *conversation* of Burnet. An imperfect and somewhat hesitating argument, against such a calumny, from the pen of D'Israeli, the most distinguished champion of Charles I., was not to be left to the enemies of that maligned and murdered Monarch.

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III.

Montrose to King Charles I., 26th December 1639.

Most Sacred Souveraigne, — According to your Majesties commandments, which you wer greatiously pleased to honor me withall, and my aune bound deuty, and inclination to your Majesties service, I was straight parting (altho your Majesties pleasure was not so pressing) to heave found your Majesties as you had commanded.

Which comming to be heir knowen, did so put aloft the mynds of most part (being still filled with ther usuall and wonted jalouseyes), that I could expect nothing bot more peremtory resolutions nor is fit to trouble your Majestie withall, or me (in thinking to doe your Majestie service) to heave occasioned: and knowing your Majesties intention did still tend towards the best satle and accommodation of all thir difficultyes, in this your Majesties kingdome, according to your Majesties gratious goodenes, and accustomat justice, I choysed rather, before matters should heave beane maide wors, and the gape inlarged by my meanes, to crave your Majesties humble pardone for my stay, and make you acquainted with the necessityes of it; hoping your Majestie will doe me the honor to think, that this is no shift (for all of that kynd is too much contrary to my humeur, chiefly in what your Majestie or your service is concerned in), bot that, as I heave ever beane bold to avow, ther ar nothing your Majestie shall be pleased to command me in (persuading myself they will be still such as befits, and doe sute with all most incumbent deutyes), that I shall not think myself borne to performe, as

Your Majesties most loyall and faithfull
subject and servand,

Montrose.

Edinburgh, 26th December 1639.
To the Kings Most Excellent Majestie.[1]

[1] Original, Hamilton charter-chest. This is an important letter. Its proper place is immediately after Number V., Part III., vol. i., p. 254. His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, having kindly permitted a few transcripts to be made for the Editor, of some of the historical documents in which the archives of the House of Hamilton are so rich, this letter meets the public eye for the first time since it was penned by Montrose. But the acquisition was not in time to enable the Editor to print the letter in its chronological order. It illustrates the nature of Montrose's opposition to the revolutionary Covenanters so early as 1639, and the manly and high-minded tenor of that correspondence with the King, for which he was so furiously assailed. Compare it with Airth's expressions, vol. i. p. 253.

PART V.

'THE Earl of Montrose,' says Bishop Burnet,—in that work which, for reasons of his own, he had determined should be posthumous,—'The Earl of Montrose, and a party of high royalists, were for entering into an open breach with the country, in the beginning of the year 1643, but offered no probable methods of maintaining it,' &c. 'The Marquis of Montrose's success was very mischievous, and proved the ruin of the King's affairs,' &c. 'The Marquis of Montrose made a great progress the next year; but he laid no lasting foundations, for he did not make himself master of the strong places or passes of the Kingdom. After his last and greatest victory at Kilsyth, he was lifted up out of measure. The Macdonalds were every where fierce masters and ravenous plunderers; and the other Highlanders, who did not such military executions, yet were good at robbing; and when they had got as much as they could carry home on their backs, they deserted. The Macdonalds also left him to go and execute their revenge on the Argile's country. The Marquis of Montrose thought he was now master, but had no scheme how to fix his conquests. He wasted the estates of his enemies, chiefly the Hamiltons, and went towards the borders of England, though he had but a small force left about him. But he thought his name carried terror with it. So he writ to the King, that he had gone over the land from Dan to Beersheba; he prayed the King to come down, in these words, "Come thou and take the city, lest I take it, and it be called by my name." This letter was writ, but never sent; for he was routed, and his papers taken, before he had despatched the

courier. In his defeat he took too much care of himself; for he was never willing to expose himself too much.' (History of His Own Time, pp. 65—71. Edit. 1833.)

Montrose took the Castle of Blair, the only stronghold of any use to his scheme; and he kept it full of prisoners, until he quitted Scotland at the command of his Sovereign. He took Perth, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. In fact, he made himself master of the whole of Scotland. As for the 'passes of the Kingdom,' at least he broke the charm of the 'far cry to Lochow.' Was there a pass between the Findhorn and the Tummel, the Tummel and the Tweed, which Montrose did not master? No doubt, having mastered Scotland, he did not *keep it*, and for ever, by means of a garrison in every castle, and an army in every pass. Was he to do this *impossibility*, or else to have done nothing? Having done ten times more than promised by himself, or than could have been expected by the most sanguine promoters of his scheme, having succeeded, beyond human calculation, in every step of his progress 'from Dan to Beersheba,' is the statesman to be denied all merit, the hero stript of every laurel, and handed down to posterity in the attitude of a beggar upon horseback, by this calumnious chatterbox of history?

Montrose's scheme was simply this. The settlement of Scotland, in 1641, had guaranteed the Monarchy against invasion from that quarter, where, according to the words of their own Act of Parliament, the King had left a 'contented people.' But the guarantee was nothing better than the oaths of Argyle, and the maudlin tears of old Leven. The King had scarcely left them, when their rebellious machinations recommenced. Montrose announced the danger. The Hamiltons, *par nobile fratrum*, denied it. No sooner were the Covenanters on their march, chasing the faithless brothers before them, than Montrose urged the design, which, had all loyalty been like his own, could never have failed

in its object. To paralyze the worse than rebellious coalition, by an immediate military occupation of Scotland for the King, was a scheme characterized with the prompt daring of his nature, and the simplicity of true genius. He saw, on the instant, that if the monarchy fell, it would be owing to this league and covenant; and as instantaneously he conceived the proper counter-plot, which was, to give the Covenanters hot work at home. But he was not so foolish as to conceive at that, or any time, the idea of besieging and throwing garrisons into the Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton. He had indeed no such ridiculous 'scheme how to fix his conquests.' His object was to destroy armies, not to take strongholds and occupy the passes of the Kingdom. The prowess in arms of the Kirk militant, the martial prestige of Argyle, he knew to be a bugbear and a cheat. He proposed to prove this. He proposed to crush the 'Solemn League and Covenant' in the usurped and ruined country where it was conceived. He denied that there was no loyalty in Scotland. But it was stunned and bewildered. It wanted a rallying point, and a leader. And the spirits that had sunk under the tyranny of a seditious preachhood, required to be roused and animated by the Standard of the Monarchy.

When Montrose promulgated this plan at Oxford, the King was in the very height of his military hopes. The chivalry of England, around him, was deemed invincible. To create *a powerful diversion* in Scotland was all that was necessary, in order to relieve the royal arms from that unexpected pressure. This, and no more than this, it was that Montrose undertook to effect. But he so fulfilled his mission, that the powerful diversion turned out to be the conquest of a Kingdom.

Two essential elements of success, however, were assumed as certain, in his calculations,—but inevitably assumed. He was prepared, no doubt, to be disappointed in some of his most reasonable expectations

of foreign aid. Commencing without an army at all, he could not fail to lay his account for reverses and disasters ere he could attain a victory. Against such contingencies, which very possibly might lead to his ruin, he could only place the inward consciousness of his own genius. '*Nil medium*' he adopted as his motto. By the characteristic '*venture faire*' he designated himself in his secret correspondence. And so long as language lasts will that verse of his be remembered,—

> 'He either fears his fate too much,
> Or his deserts are small,
> That dares not put it to the touch
> To gain or lose it all.'

But while acting under a complete sense of the fearful odds against him, there were two expectations as to which Montrose neither had, nor ought to have, imagined that he would be deceived. The first was, that, in a parallel campaign in England, if the King carried not all before him, at least his career must be marked by some signal and decisive success, and not by constant defeat. The other,—that, though all else should prove deceptive, there were certain noblemen in Scotland who never could. Was it possible for him, when so commissioned, to doubt the instant, ardent, and constant co-operation of Huntly, Crawford, Traquair, and Dunfermline? Was he not entitled, and bound, to rely upon devotion to the royal cause, obedience to the royal commission, even on the part of noblemen whose loyalty was somewhat less notorious, such as Seaforth, Callander, Home, and Roxburgh? But what happened? Field after field lost in England for the King. Not a stroke of power, not a gleam of fortune worthy of a record. On the other hand, noblemen of the most loyal repute in Scotland were wilfully throwing every obstacle in the way of the King's Lieutenant there, while that indomitable genius was surmounting every difficulty, gaining battle after battle,

destroying army after army, conquering 'from Dan to Beersheba.' Then the King, whose collateral progress was in the opposite ratio, could never keep tryste with Montrose at Beersheba. Feats of knighthood were rife in England. The best blood of the kingdom was flooding the Throne. George Lord Digby, the desperately daring, once challenged a whole army with his pistol, and returned to his lines, shot in the arm, and, as his brother well expressed it, 'with abundance of grinning honour.' It was his greatest feat. Nothing could exceed the gallantry with which the stout old Earl of Northampton, at Stafford, peremptorily refused quarter 'from such base rogues and rebels.' The determination with which Bertie Earl of Lindsey, before the battle of Edge-hill, 'resolved that he would be at the head of his regiment, as a private colonel, where he would die,' and the cheerfulness with which he bled to death after the battle, indicate the highest class of English Cavalier. The dashing manner in which the young Earl of Litchfield, third son of the house of Richmond, handled the King's guards under the walls of Chester, until they drove Pointz back again (who had just driven Sir Marmaduke Langdale there), and then fell himself, is beyond all praise. At Newbury (a field destined to witness the defeat of the King's army on two different occasions), the very flower of the peerage were cut off. The Earl of Carnarvon, the finest gallant of his day, succeeded in a brilliant charge, and then, by a straggler, was run through the body, while lounging in his saddle as if on the return from a fox-chase. 'Here fell,' says Clarendon, 'the Earl of Sunderland, a Lord of great fortune, tender years, being not above three-and-twenty years of age, and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the King's person, under the obligation of honour; and putting himself that day in the King's troop a volunteer, before they came to charge, was taken away by a cannon bullet.' Clarendon places

the loss of Lord Falkland alone against all that the chivalry of England ever could make for the King. And, in narrating the fall of Lord Denbigh, he takes occasion to lament 'the dismal inequality of this contention, in which always some Earl, or person of great honour or fortune, fell, when, after the most signal victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a man of any known family, or of other reputation than of passion for the cause in which he fell.' Such is the history of the Cavaliers. Prince Rupert, whose brains, whenever he got on horseback, seemed all to merge in his spur, was too fast. And the great Cavendish, to whom was entrusted the most important stake for the Crown, and which he and Rupert divided betwixt them at Marston Moor, we believe Montrose to have truly characterized when he pronounced him to be 'slow.' (Number IV., pp. 128, 134.) If Bishop Burnet be well founded in the assertion, that 'Montrose's *success* was very mischievous, and *proved the ruin* of the King's affairs,' certainly the Cavaliers in England had no such sin upon their conscience. If, by any possibility, our hero could have anticipated that, in the progress of his own adventure, his *loyal* compeers in Scotland were constantly to prove false, while the King, in England, was to be constantly discomfited, his character would not have been crawled over by Burnet. He would have kissed hands at Oxford, and carried his sword to Germany.

It is not true, although a Bishop wrote it, that Montrose, after the battle of Kilsyth, 'was lifted up out of measure.' He was the solitary champion of the Throne. If there be glory in arms, or a moral principle in war, if the God of mercy be the God of battles, the victor of Kilsyth had then perfected a great and glorious work, and was entitled to be uplifted. But uplifted he was not. The letters and orders relating to the crisis are printed in this Part, and afford no countenance to the spiteful assertion. Moreover, we have President Spottis-

woode's account of Montrose at that very time. It may appease his manes, when maligned by Burnet, that he was admired by Spottiswoode. See the letter to Lord Digby, written in Montrose's camp, after the battle of Kilsyth. 'You little imagine,' says the President, 'the difficulties my Lord Marquis hath here to wrestle with: the overcoming of the enemy is the least of them: he has more to do with his own seeming friends.' (See Number XLII., p. 235.)

Neither is it true that the Scriptural quotation, which the hero addressed to his Sovereign, was the mere effusion of a coxcombical mind, inflated by the success at Kilsyth. It was not written upon the occasion to which Burnet assigns it. Nor is it the fact that the letter which contained it never reached the King, but fell into the hands of the enemy at Philiphaugh. After the battle of Kilsyth, Montrose and Lord Napier had together framed a REMONSTRANCE, which will be found in the first volume of these Memorials, where its recent and singular recovery is narrated.[1] Let that document, manifestly intended as Montrose's public justification, at the Parliament which he was commissioned to convene, be compared with the characteristics of him by Burnet. But the letter containing the scriptural allusion was addressed to the King after the battle of Inverlochy; and that he did receive it, is proved by a letter from Charles himself to his Queen. Burnet has tainted all history with the notion, that the quotation itself was mere fanfaronade,—a piece of empty vapouring. Hence its real meaning, its connection with the history of the period, the perfect propriety and dignity of the application, has never been properly understood or appreciated.

[1] See Preface to Part III., Vol. I., p. 215. The Remonstrance is there printed verbatim, but divested of its antiquated orthography, which in so long a composition made it difficult to follow. The intention announced in the note, of repeating it in the Appendix, as originally spelt, has not been fulfilled, owing to the subsequent accession of other valuable materials, which have occupied all our space.

Montrose became thoroughly impressed with the belief, that a sinister struggle was going on, between Hamilton and Argyle, for *sovereign* sway in Scotland. This he had perceived so early as in 1640; and even then entered his earnest, eloquent, and indignant protest against such pretensions. 'And you great men,' he said, 'who aim *so high as the Crown*, do you think we are so far degenerate from the virtue, valour, and fidelity to our true and lawful Sovereign, so constantly entertained by our ancestors, as to suffer you, with all your policy, to reign over us? Take heed you be not Æsop's dog, and lose the cheese for the shadow in the well.' (See *supra*, p. 52.) Accordingly, when, at Inverlochy, Montrose found himself standing upon the ruins of Argyle's empire, race, and fame, his first impulse, and act, was to write the intelligence to his Sovereign, accompanied with an assurance that he had no object in view but a constitutional support of the Throne. The Scriptural allusion was well chosen and full of meaning. Whatever might be the sins of David's general, Joab, he was a faithful soldier to his royal master. Now, 'Joab fought against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and took the royal city. And Joab sent messengers to David, and said, I have fought against Rabbah, and have taken the city of waters. Now, therefore, gather the rest of the people together, and encamp against the city, and take it; lest I take the city, and it be called after my name.' (II. Sam. xii.) The announcement from Montrose was, in effect, that, having destroyed Argyle, he had yet to meet the armies of the Covenant between him and the Borders; where, according to the plan arranged at Oxford, the royal Lieutenant was to be joined by the King himself. The sacred language in which this was compressed, could not fail to be perfectly understood, and properly appreciated by the accomplished and religious Monarch to whom it was addressed. Burnet has aided his design, of extracting ridicule

from the Scriptural allusion, by asserting that it was used, in a weak and vain-glorious spirit, on the instant before defeat and rout. It was written before the victories of Aulderne, Alford, and Kilsyth. It was written not at Beersheba, but from Dan. Never was a bolder pledge more beautifully expressed or more brilliantly redeemed. There is not perhaps on record a finer indication of a mind that could command itself, as well as others, than Montrose's dispatch from Inverlochy. Let the exciting circumstances under which it was penned, be well considered. What were the chances in favour of Montrose, when he undertook the hostile invasion of the hereditary dominions of Argyle, up to the walls of Inverara? And when this stupendous adventure was achieved, and he was on the banks of Lochness, between two hostile armies, either of them outnumbering his own—Lord Seaforth, with the Frasers, and the whole covenanting force of Murray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, waiting for him northwards, and Argyle, with his finest clan-gathering, added to the government forces, following him through Lochaber, behind, — what were the chances, that, at a single blow, he would crush the whole clan Campbell, drive the northern forces before him, and obtain the signature of their leader, Seaforth, to a bond against rebellion, bearing date before the battle of Inverlochy? (See Number XII.) It seems from his own account, that, while yet in Argyleshire, Montrose had obtained intelligence of the grand concentration, of the exasperated hive of Argyle, at Inverlochy. This is what Baillie called 'Argyle's following the rogues through Lochaber.' Montrose tells us, that when the intelligence reached him, he instantly conceived the scheme of destroying his powerful enemies in detail, by rapid and unlooked for movements. He quitted the district of Argyle by forced marches through Lorn, Glencoe, and Aber, and so northward to Lochness. His march seemed to be directed against Seaforth. Argyle·

doubtless, intended to hover in the rear. When at *Killiwheimen* (now Fort Augustus), Montrose collected his energies for the spring. He chose a most extraordinary route out of Argyleshire upon Inverlochy. But his object was to get between the armies. The preliminary bond of union (Number XII.) is dated 'at Killiwheimen, the penult days of January 1645,' although many of the signatures were adhibited afterwards. Among others, *Seaforth's!* Upon Friday the last day of January, he turned short round from his seemingly northward march, and faced the mountains of Lochaber, with the determination 'to let the world see that Argyle was not the man his Highlandmen believed him to be, and that it was possible to beat him in his own Highlands.' Avoiding all the usual tracks, he led his little army across those mountains, through wilds untenanted save by the eagles and the deer. 'My march,' he says, 'was through inaccessible mountains, where I could have no guides but cow-herds, and they scarce acquainted with a place but six miles from their own habitations. If I had been attacked but with one hundred men in some of these passes, I must have certainly returned back; for it would have been impossible to force my way, most of the passes being so straight that three men could not march abreast.' So far from being disposed to exaggerate, he gives a mere glimpse of his difficulties. For two days they were upon this desperate march, the prospect of a great battle for their rest, and, says Patrick Gordon, 'the most part of them had not tasted a bit of bread these two days, marching over high mountains in knee-deep snow, and wading brooks and rivers up to their girdle.' At five o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday 1st February 1645, the van of his army, having surmounted those awful ridges, came in sight of the clan Campbell under arms. Montrose then halted, and it was eight o'clock at night before the rear could be brought up. 'But,' says he, '*it was moonlight, and very clear.*' What a pro-

spect then lay under that crystal firmament, between Ben-Nevis and the frowning towers of Inverlochy! Montrose's anxiety to *surprise* his enemy was, that he might find him there. Having done so, he gave Argyle the live-long night to whet his courage and his claymores. Both of those Highland hosts were under arms till the dawn of the Sabbath day. When he sat down to break his fast before the onset, of the whole pledged loyalty of Scotland there was but one solitary individual whose rank entitled him to take his seat by Montrose! Upon the mountain side a hollow dish, containing a little meal mixed with cold water, was placed between him and the venerable Earl of Airly; and this they had to discuss with the points of their knives.—(Patrick Gordon, p. 100.) Could the chief of the Ogilvies fail to remember, on that cold clear winter night, what once befel 'on a day, a bonnie summer day, when the aits grew green and early'?

A finer clan-gathering never rushed to conflict than the Campbells at Inverlochy, whose lot their chief declined. Humble as was the morning's repast of the two loyal noblemen, Montrose, with admirable presence of mind, would not abate one point of military etiquette. As if on parade, the standard of the King was saluted by the clarions of the royal Lieutenant, when the morning dawned. Nelson, on the main-deck of the Elephant, amid a desperate affray, refused to close his note to Denmark without the ceremony of a seal. This proud and formal intimation, of the vicinity of the Standard, reached Argyle in his boat. Ere the evening of that day, fifteen hundred (a number equal to Montrose's whole army), including the very flower of the race of Diarmid, lay dead by the shores of the Lochy. The military power and prestige of the Campbells perished for ever. Montrose had not rested from his mountain march and bloody victory, when he wrote that letter to his sovereign. (Number XIII.)

Through the documents which this Part contains, the career of Montrose may be traced, with many interesting and new details, from the

time when, at the express command of his Sovereign, he first drew his sword for the Monarchy, to that when, also by express command, he gave up the struggle, and retired abroad. We now know, that at the battle of Bowdounhills, near Sunderland, upon Sunday 24th March 1644, Montrose was, for the first time, face to face against the rebel Scots. He was attending that illustrious but unsuccessful commander, William Cavendish, first Marquis of Newcastle, and 'inciting' him to an instant and desperate onset. The battle word was, 'Now or never,' the '*venture faire*' of Montrose. Upon that occasion it was that he pronounced both Newcastle and his Lieutenant-General, King, to be 'slow.'—(See *infra*, p. 128.) There, too, he must have witnessed the strange spectacle of the Earl of Carnwath's troop, headed, not by that loyalist himself, but by 'one Mistress Persone, whom Carnwath called his daughter.' This fact also is new to history. Nor could he fail to foresee his own difficulties, in that testy nobleman's jealous rejection of the honourable commission which Montrose then brought him from the King.—(See Number IV., pp. 127–134.)

Ere Montrose's victories commenced, Cavendish was a disgraced fugitive. When they closed at Kilsyth, George Lord Digby was the same. At Oxford, in 1643, Montrose was regarded, by the chivalry of England, as an unimportant and somewhat troublesome Scotch adventurer. On the eve of Philiphaugh, in 1645, he stood alone in his glory, waiting at the Borders for the King! And well might he there exclaim,

'O Patria, et rapti necquicquam ex hoste Penates!'

Nor can the following imagination of his soliloquy at Selkirk, however unequal to the subject, be convicted of too lofty an assumption, for Montrose, of a position infinitely superior to that of all his loyal compeers, a position which incited the malice of Burnet, and justified the eulogy by de Retz.

MONTROSE'S SOLILOQUY AT SELKIRK.

ABOVE where Mary's hallowed mere, and Ettrick's mossy mead,
By night and day for ever pay their tribute to the Tweed,
High o'er the vale of Selkirk, hard by the Haining hill,
When morn oppress'd with autumn mist dawn'd drearily and chill,
Alone, and from his host apart, a stately warrior stood,
The broad claymore his baldric bore was red with rebel blood;
Upon his brow was sadness, there was trouble in his eye,
Where sternly pride and triumph strove with deep anxiety;
The brave were dead, and cowards fled, and faithless friends were gone,
Triumphant, desolate, betrayed, that warrior stood alone;
Still to the cheerless Cheviots his longing eye was cast,
And ever his ear was bent to hear some Border bugle's blast;
His meteor star was sinking, but his steadfast heart was high,
And the thirst of glory from it burst in wild soliloquy;
Stretch'd on the plain, still as the slain, his toil-worn troops repose:—
It was the field of PHILIPHAUGH—that warrior was MONTROSE.

'From Dan unto Beersheba, oh King, the race is run!
Come, lest my name the conquer'd claim, take thou this country won.
From Tummel's roaring torrents, to Selkirk's silver stream,
My pledge and mission all fulfill'd, not mine the conqueror's dream.
Foil'd in each wile is false Argyle, quell'd are this nation's quarrels,
Where lingers Scotland's native King, why tarries royal Charles?
From the mountains of Lochaber, from the passes of Lochow,
Though far the cry, Io! here am I—my Monarch, where art thou?
Oh! for the sight of England's might, her Standard spreading free
On Criffel's breeze its crimson blaze o'er leaguer'd loyalty,
The dash of England's chivalry, the flash of Border spears,
Rupert and Maurice in the van of King and Cavaliers!
Gods! can that glorious leaguer fail to free the groaning land,
When peer and prince are couching lance, and at a King's command?

'Tis vain, 'tis vain! no clarion's clang salutes, with proud alarms,
Old England's banner'd blazonry above a King in arms;
I see no pennons waving, I hear no tuck of drum,
Nor charger's neigh, nor trumpet's bray, to tell me they are come.

Is fiery Rupert rebel? Is daring Digby dead?
Has Langdale lost his golden spur, or found a gory bed?
St George for merry England! where, where the good and brave,
With heart and hand to save the land, the Monarchy to save!—
Ho, gallants, had ye swords of lath, or lances of the rush?
For Norman name, and knightly fame, your loyal ladies blush;
How brought to shame each noble name let Lathom's towers declare,
Where County Derby's queenly dame proved what the sex can dare.

'Gay was the Court at Oxford,—proud were its haughty Peers,
Who vaunted high their chivalry, and slighted mine with sneers;
Proud were those knights of England,—a spell in every name
To rouse the soul of loyalty, and rebel hearts to tame;
What swords flew out at Percy's shout, or high Newcastle's look,
What mounting at the very name of hot Sir Marmaduke!
And it was, "hey a Vavasour!" and, "ride for Rupert, ho!"
The whirlwind upon every spur, and death in every blow;
And proud their limned lineaments, all eterniz'd alike
With those airs of grace and glory—that were vended by Vandyke!
But out on painted panoplies, and popinjays in steel,—
Shame to Newcastle's heartless head, and Rupert's headless heel;
Say, how has princely Cavendish fulfill'd his promise high?
Has Byron's boast, or Howard's blood, produced one victory?
Once and again at Newbury, why fell the double blight
On loyal laurels all but lost at Edgehill's doubtful fight?
No red revenge at Naseby, for the shame at Marston Moor?
Why bears my lonely, laurel'd brow, the curse of kindred gore?

'Cumber'd with dead, with battle red, Glenorchy's torrent runs,
On Lochy's shore, stark in their gore, lie Dermid's stalworth sons.—
Alford, Aulderne, and Tippermuir, what boot your glories told?
Dim is the eye of Ogilvy, and Gordon's spur is cold,—
Beneath Ardvoirlich's dagger my murder'd kinsman fell,—
That caitiff vile hides with Argyle—they cannot hide from Hell.
How oft my soul hath sicken'd as Lochiel's slogan swell'd,
While rent the sky that carrion-cry the rushing Camerons yell'd;
When old grey wolves from Badenoch to Blair came trooping blythe,
And ravens left the Rannoch rocks, to feast at far Kilsyth.

'But oh, for bleeding England,—the blood of belted Earls
Barter'd, with honour barely saved, for blood of knaves and churls!
At Stafford when Northampton in cheers gave up his breath,
When Lindsay and when Litchfield gain'd a laurel by their death,
When the flower of chivalry and love lay bleeding on the plain
Where gay Carnarvon stoop'd his crest, and Sunderland was slain,
When well'd the wasted stream of life from doughty Denbigh's side,
What peer went down that dar'd the Crown? What rebel County died?
The Monarchy of England! a mournful, mocking word;
Ah! once made glorious by the pen, and famous by the sword;
But now, ye future Froissarts, what story can ye tell?
What pen may glorify the field where blameless Falkland fell?
What sword reclaim the regal fame that Cavendish hath cast
To crop-ear'd curs who long to lap the blood of Kings at last?

'Through death and desolation sped, this Border pass to gain,
I hear not Roxburgh's bugle hail with free and friendly strain,
Nor Home his horn salute the morn by Tweed or Ettrick-dale,—
And false Traquair, and his recreant heir, were ever sure to fail.
The phantoms of some fatal hour are crowding on my sight,
Claymores, and spears, and Cavaliers, all plunging into night!
Hark, the gay Gordon cries adieu, and turns his restless rein,
See how the plunder-laden Gael plods to his hills again!
My battles won, my comrades gone, here without friends or foes,—
God wills that none may save the Throne,—to God submits Montrose.'

When Montrose cut his way through the cavalry that surprised and overwhelmed him at Philiphaugh, he neither hurried as a fugitive to the hills, nor fled the country like Cavendish and Digby. On the fourth day thereafter, the Standard still waving above a resolute little army, he is issuing orders from his camp in Glenalmond. Next we find him in Stratherne, forwarding ammunition to his Captain of the Blair. Shortly after, he writes to Huntly from Castle Forbes. See Numbers XLIV, XLV, XLVI.) And here commenced that correspondence, now first printed, which speaks volumes in favour of the indomitable

spirit and temper of Montrose. Even at the eleventh hour, had Huntly proclaimed a junction with the King's Lieutenant, his followers would have risen to a man. Seaforth was avowedly holding back, with all whom he influenced, because Montrose and Huntly seemed at variance. An approximation in the latter, to the activity and determination of the hero whom he rivalled after a fashion at once ludicrous and melancholy, would have saved the precious lives sacrificed at Glasgow and St Andrews, and have placed the person of the King himself under loyal and honest protection. The active cooperation of Huntly and Seaforth under Montrose, must have dissipated the covenanting forces in Scotland, and entirely changed the aspect of affairs. The selfish obstinacy of a single nobleman paralyzed this most feasible scheme. What was the result? Montrose driven out of the country, the King left in the hands of his murderers, and the shambles of the Covenant deluged with the best blood of Scotland, including that of Huntly himself, whose hand was powerless to keep his head, the instant Montrose departed. And what was his excuse? An old commission to himself, as royal Lieutenant benorth the Grampians, under which he had never struck a blow, but which he refused to waive to the unquestionable superiority,and higher commission of the Graham. The correspondence now recovered from the Gordon Archives, proves at once the dogged and ruinous obstinacy of Huntly, and the patience and perfect temper of Montrose. These letters are all in his own hand-writing. His general orders are for the most part written by his secretary, James Kennedy, whose letter to the Captain of the Blair (Number LXI.) further illustrates the position and difficulties of his noble master. Kennedy's fate has been already noticed in the Preface.

ORIGINAL PAPERS ILLUSTRATING THE EXERTIONS OF MONTROSE IN SUPPORT OF KING CHARLES I. AND THE MONARCHY. M.DC.XLIII.—M.DC.XLVIII.

I. Montrose's Bond at Oxford against the Solemn League and Covenant. 1643–4.

Declaration of the Marquess of Montrose and other Scotch noblemen against the Scots invading England in 1643, published at Oxford.

We his Majesty's loyal subjects of the Scotish nation, whose names are under written, having a right and faithful sense of the undeserved sufferings of our gracious Sovereign, and of the sad condition at present of all his Majesty's dominions, through the disloyalty and rebellion of a traiterous and most ungrateful faction in both kingdoms; and being, as becomes us, most particularly and most deeply afflicted, that any of our nation should have had, and still have, so great a hand in inducing and

continuing those public calamities, as that, for the treacherous and perfidious practices of some, our whole nation is in danger of suffering the detestable imputation of partaking in this odious rebellion: which misunderstanding is principally occasioned by the power, which those unnatural and disloyal persons have gotten, of countenancing their most treasonable actions with the forms and glosses of public authority: We, being desirous, not only to vindicate ourselves, but as far as in us lies, our nation, from that infamy which some of our traiterous countrymen have drawn upon themselves, and would gladly involve the whole in their crime, have thought fit to express, in this solemn declaration, our hatred and detestation of the rebellion in both kingdoms, and of the present invasion of this of England by those of our nation, and also our judgment of the late pretended *Convention*, the source and fountain of these treasons and impieties. And we do hereby profess and declare, that we esteem the said pretended Convention to be a presumptuous, illegal, and traiterous meeting, as being designed to excite sedition and rebellion in that kingdom, and a most unjust invasion of this. And as we do utterly disclaim and abhor the same, so do we in like manner all *Committees*, general or particular, flowing from the same; and all acts, ordinances, and decrees made and given therein; and particularly that traiterous and damnable Covenant, taken and imposed by the rebels of both kingdoms, which we heartily and unfeignedly detest, and shall never enter into by force, persuasion, or any respect whatsoever, as being a most impious imposition upon men's consciences, to engage them, under a false pretence of religion, in treason and rebellion against their Sovereign. And we do further renounce and detest any authority, either of the Convention or Parliament, as to the levying of arms, upon any colour whatsoever, without his Majesty's consent. And we do sincerely profess, that we do esteem our countrymen's present taking of arms, and their invading this realm of England, to be an act of high treason and rebellion, and hold ourselves obliged by allegiance, and by the Act of Pacification, to oppose and withstand the same. Likeas we promise upon

our honour, every one of us faithfully to employ our uttermost power and abilities, both with lives and fortunes, to suppress the said rebels now in arms against his Majesty and his Crown of England. In which just cause we do make the like engagement firmly and constantly to adhere to one another, and to all his Majesty's faithful subjects that shall join with us in that endeavour, and in this declaration of our fidelity.

William Fleming, Robert Spotswoode, Forth, Crafurd, Montrose, Ogilby, Hay, David Scrymson [*Scrymsor ?*], Abercorne, Nithisdaile, D. Reay, Wailland, J. Innes, Jo. Macbrayn [*Macbrayr ?*], Tho. Ogilvy, Kinnoull, J. Aboyne, Inns [*John ?*] Innes, Philip Nesbott, John Honston [*Houston ?*], J. Cokeran, Traquaire, Alex. Leslie, Ogilvy, James Gordon, Will. Murray, Alex. Charters, Alex. Smith.[1]

[1] Baillie, who was one of the Commission sent to London with the Solemn League and Covenant, thus writes from thence, on the 18th of February 1644:—'Montrose hes contryved *a wicked Band and Oath* against all who hes taken *the Covenant for the assistance of England*, as traitours; which, we hear, Kinnoule, Traquair, and others, hes refused with disdain.' In another letter, headed, 'Publick Letter, Aprile 2d,' 1644, again he says:—'The Scotts *Incendiaries* at Oxford had drawn up and past a *horrible Oath* for holding us all for traitors.' Baillie's allusion to the rumour, that Traquair, Kinnoul, and others, had refused to sign it, is explained by this passage in Wishart:—'There were several Scotsmen, both at Court and in the army, who were suspected, *and not without reason*, of inclining to the Covenanters, and of having perfidiously discovered to them the King's secret counsels. In order to bring these to the test, Montrose fell on the following contrivance: He caused draw up a Declaration, which, by the King's order, all the Scots that were there, and who would be esteemed loyal and dutiful subjects, were to subscribe. They professed thereby an abhorrence of the designs of the Covenanters; particularly, they condemned their bringing an army into England against the King, as contrary to the laws of the land, and an act of high treason, and solemnly promised to do their utmost endeavour to bring such as were guilty of it to justice, though with the risk of their lives and fortunes. This Declaration was readily subscribed by all men of honour and honesty; yet there were two who, of all Scotsmen after the Hamiltons, were most trusted by the King,—the Earl of Traquair, and William Murray, a gentleman of the Bed-chamber,—who

II. Montrose to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, 13th March 1644.

Goode Presedent,—Att our arryvall heir, being incertaine of all busynes, I directed alongs Cornell Cochran to my lord Newcassell, to learne the condition of affaires, and informe him [Cochran] particularly of what we had to expect; which necessarly occasioned our stay heir for some dayes. His returne to us wes, that, for supplyes he could dispence non for the present; for monyes he hade non, nether wes he owing my Lord Germaine any; for armes and amunition, he hade not to the two parts of his awne, bot had beane so long a expecting from beyonde sea, as he wes now out of hopes. So this is the termes we stand. However, since it is not a *non putarem*, (for we resolved with it, altho we expected better,) it shall be no matter of discouragement to withhould us from doeing our best. To-morrow we are to goe to the army, which is lookt dayly to fight; bot I hope we shall come in tyme to beare them witnes. Argyle, upon the rumor of our comming, is returned to Scotland in heast, to prepaire against us ther; bot we intend to make all possible dispach to follow him att the heels, in whatsoever posture we can. So this is all I can

with very great diffieulty, and partly through fear of discovering their own treacherous hearts, were at last induced to subscribe it; and they further promised, upon oath, to meet Montrose in Scotland, with some assistance, against a certain day; but in this they afterwards broke their oaths most unworthily.' (Memoirs, p. 52. Edit. 1819.) But Wishart does not say that Kinnoul had signed reluctantly. The Bond itself was printed by Carte in the Ormonde papers (from the copy sent to that Marquis in Ireland), 1739; but without any historical illustration, and with blunders in the signatures. An address, in the same strain, was framed in the month of December 1643, and presented to both Houses of Parliament convened at Oxford. It besought their influence with his Majesty to sanction the test of the Bond, applied to all Scotchmen professing loyalty at the Court. A process of forfeiture (soon superseded by weightier charges) was immediately raised against Montrose in Scotland. The virulent and prolix summons, embodying the loyal address, is among the Montrose papers. From this prosecution Spalding probably derived the *Address*, but the *Bond* is not among his collections.

show you for the present; bot as further occurs you shall from tyme [to tyme] kno it by

Your most affectionat and faithfull freind to serve you,

MONTROSE.

York, 13 March 1644.

I much admyre my cossing S^r^ Williame Flemyng's stay, and am heartely sory both for the busines and himself; but I know its non of his fault.

[On the margin.]—Lett thes I pray remember me to all freindes; and [I] intreat you wold keipe particular good intelligence with them all, and cheifly Mr Porter. For the General, be pleased to let him know still all generalls, and make you fitting use.

For the Right Worshipfull
Sir Robert Spotswoode.[1]

[1] Original, Spottiswoode charter-chest.

Montrose at this time was furnished with express instructions from his Majesty to the Marquis of Newcastle, who commanded the royal army near the Borders, to furnish his Lieutenant-General for Scotland with a strong party of horse, to enable him to prosecute his desperate adventure. Wishart says:—'Montrose came first to York, and from thence to Durham, where he sent off the King's instructions to the Marquis of Newcastle, *and next day they met and conferred*.' From this it would appear that Montrose followed up his communication from York, with a personal interview from Durham. Wishart adds:—'Newcastle told him there was a scarcity of every thing in his army; that, during the winter, the Scots had unexpectedly broke in upon him, and spoiled his recruiting, and that they were now quartering within five miles of his camp, much superior to him in numbers; and, in short, that he could not part with any of his horse, without the manifest hazard of his whole army.' The result was, says Wishart, that 'an hundred horse, and these very lean and ill appointed, and two small brass field-pieces,' were accorded to Montrose.

The General mentioned in Montrose's postscript was Ruthven, afterwards Earl of Brentford, and of Forth in Scotland,

III. John Macbrayre to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, 15th March 1644.

My very much beloved Lord,—Although I know you are acquainted with our present condition heere, by a more able (as a more honorable) penne then this,[1] yett, for satisfaction off my promise, take this much more. We arryved safe heere upon Monday was a seven night, after eight severall removes from the place where wee parted with your Lordship. My Lords off Crawfurd and Ray, with a strong squadre off our brigade, went off the way to Shrewsburye. The latter off these two Lords came hether from thence yesternight with Collonell Innesse, and some other officers: the former, I doubt, shall nott come heere so soone as we could have wished.[2] This day we are upon our remoove towards Durham, in which place, and neere unto itt, my Lord Marquis his Excellency[3] hath had his armye quartered now these ten or twelve dayes bygone, and our *cursed countrymen* theirs in Sunderland, and some paltrye places close by that. They are sayd to match him in number (not in goodnes) off foote; bott he triples them in horse, by meanes whereoff they are closed in as in a pinfold. Some provision they gett by sea to themselves; bott there horses keepe Lent a great deale better then there maisters; who, ere long, will have no flesh *except theirs* to breake itt upon eyther. The countrye, both heere and there, is in a very good posture, and a great alacritye in all our men to fight. There was some (yett no great) want of armes and ammunition; bott some

whose name (as Earl of Forth) is among the signatures to the Oxford Bond; and Mr Porter, whom he particularizes, is Endymion Porter, that old and faithful servant of Charles I.

[1] This seems to refer to the letter from Montrose, dated on the 13th of the same month. See the previous Number.

[2] See *infra*, Montrose's own account of the Earl of Crawford's conduct at this crisis.

[3] The Marquis of Newcastle. He was created a Marquis a few months before.

eight dayes agoe Captayne Browne Bushell[1] landed at Hartlepole (now very well manned and fortifyed) with good store off armes both for horse and foot, and four hundred barrells off powder. The forces in Newcastle, and some garrisons about, keeps all supplys from the rebells out off Northumberland, and snap up many (some off note) who had joyned with or declared themselves for them. And upon this hand they need expect no supplye, either off horse or foote, by reason off our forces, which keeps the food heere, and the gallant resistance att Newwork, from whence wee are confident the assegeants shall ryse with shame or these can come to your hand. The particularitye off that action I know you have heard, nor will I insist any more att this tyme in any off that kynd. For private affayres, I must once more be so unmannerlye as to recommend unto your Lordship's care the dispatch off my Baronett, and that upon any (nott extreamely base) tearmes. Att least be carefull the warrant be nott miscarryed. I must lykwyse putt your Lordship in mind off Captayne Maxwell's petty bussines with Ashburnham, (left behind in the hands of my cousin, Thomas Maxwell), for which the gentleman wills me to present his humble service to your Lordship. For the Docters, I know my Lord Killalye will keep you in mynd; to whom I must intreat your Lordship to present my reall proffer off trew love and service; and my dewtifull respects to his brethren off Downe, Raphoe, and Clonferte, to good Mr Aytoun, and all our fraternitye *de la Crochette*. My last suite unto your Lordship shall be, that you will

[1] The fate of Captain Brown Bushell is recorded by Clarendon. When Cromwell felt his power sufficiently to show his detestation of the Presbyterian clergy, he caused one to be tried for disaffection in London, and (says Clarendon), 'in spite of all the opposition which the Presbyterians could make, who appeared publicly with their utmost power, the man was condemned, and executed upon Tower-hill. And, to show their impartiality, at the same time and place they executed *Brown Bushell*, who had formerly served the Parliament in the beginning of the rebellion, and shortly after served the King to the end of the war, and had lived some years in England, after the war expired, untaken notice of; but, upon this occasion, and to accompany this preacher, was enviously discovered, and put to death.'—(Hist. *ad An.* 1651.)

believe that (off all those who professe themselves such) none is more really, my Lord,

Your faythfull freend and servant, than

Jo. M^{c}Br[ayre.]

Ebor. 15 Martij 1644.[1]

We are in hopes to gett good store off officers heere, bott for the uther thing (you know what), how notably wee have beene abused somewhere I will nott wryte.

For my very much honored, and singular good freud,
S^{r} Robert Spottswood off Dunipace, Knight,
Lord President of Scotland, etc., these, att Oxford.
Mr Gregory's Chambers, Chryst Church.

[Endorsed by Sir Robert Spottiswoode]—John Macbrayre, re[ceived] 29 Martij 1644, letter to Sir Rob^{t} Spotswoode with news from the North. Yorke, 15 March.

[1] Original, Spottiswoode charter-chest.

This John Macbrayre seems to have been a determined loyalist. His name will be found among the signatures to the Oxford Bond. In the Ormonde papers by Carte, the name is printed 'Jo. Macbrayn;' but there seems no reason to doubt that the person meant is the writer of the above letter, whom I have not found mentioned by contemporary writers.

The excellent Sir Robert Spottiswoode, second son of the Archbishop, driven, like his father, from his high post in Scotland, which he had filled with no less integrity and ability, had been recently appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. The Privy Seal was previously held by the ungrateful Lanrick, who had now openly justified all the charges against himself and his brother, Hamilton, by taking a prominent part against the King with the most violent Covenanters in Scotland.

IV. Depositions relating to Montrose's Military Operations in the North of England, and the South of Scotland, 1644.

I.

Octavo Junij 1644,—The quhilk day the Committee appoyntit be the Estaittis of Parliament for resseaving of depositionnes of witnesses cited to that effect; Sederunt, Orbestoun, Justice Clerk, Alexander Colvill, and James Robertoun, Justice Deputtis, and Mr Alexander Belsches of Toftis.

Major Johne Erskine, of the age of 38 yeiris, being maried, not being examinat before: Being solemnlie sworne, Depones that he saw the Earle of Carnwathe at the Skirmische of Hiltoun, besyde Sunderland, in the monethe of Marche last, both upon the Sunday and Munonday, in the Marques of Newcastell's companie; and, for anything the deponer knows, Carnewathe hade no chairge in his awn persone or name, bot thair was *one Mistres Persone* quha hade the chairge of a troupe, quhom Carnwathe called his daghter;[1] quhilk troupe was levyed on Carnwathe's chairges; and that the armes and pryces of the horses was payit be my Lord Carnewathe, bot that the commissioun grantit be the Earle of Newcastell for levying of that troupe was grantit to Mistres Persone, and in her name; and declaires the deponer hard the Earl of

[1] This very curious and characteristic incident seems to have escaped all other record than the above, only now brought to light. A search through all the contemporary histories and chronicles has failed to discover any mention of this heroine. She is not alluded to in the Duchess of Newcastle's Memoirs of her husband; nor in the peerage account of Dalzell Earl of Carnwath. No doubt, from being styled simply 'Mistress Persone' she must have been an illegitimate daughter of that nobleman. Her father is chiefly noted in history from having seized the bridle of the King at Naseby, as his Majesty was about to charge at the head of his guards, when, says Clarendon, (who attributes the loss of the battle to the incident), 'swearing two or three full mouthed Scottish oaths, he said, "*Will you go upon your death in an instant?*"' and so caused the royal guards to fly in confusion.

Carnewathe say he hade dischairgit his pistoll on the Scottis, on the Monday in the skirmische. And being interogat if he knew that Carnewathe had acceptit ane commissioun of Leivtenandrie of the Shreffdome of Clithysdaill, in the expeditioun intendit towardis Dumfreis, Depones he hard Carnewathe say, that thare was a letter sent to him with a commissioun to be Leivetennent of Clithysdaill be Montrois from the King's Majestie; and the said letter being delyverit to him be Montrois, he said himself he refusit to reid it, but did cast it by, quhilk was the ground of his discord betwix him and Aboyne. Farder declaires that the Earle of Montros was reputt, and called be all the officiaris, and all that followed him, Lord Leivetennent-Generall of the northerne expeditioun, I meane the Scottish armie to be raised in Scotland for the King against the Kingdome, and behaved himself in that qualitie befoir the skirmische at Bowdoun, quhilk was upon the twenty-twa day of Marche 1644, and did give some money to some officiaris, as Leivetennent-Generall.[1] And being interogatt what Scottismen he knew to be with the Marques of Newcastle, Generall King, and Montrois, at Bowdounhill, or any other service againes the Scottis armie, or againes any partie sent out be the Scottis armie befoir or sensyne, Depones, that the Earle of Montrois, Nithisdaill, Aboyne, and Ogilvie wer at Bowdonhill, and that he hard the saids four Lords alledge that the Marques of Newcastell and Leivetennent-Generall King *were slaw*; and that to his best knowledge they were inciteris and steirers up of the Marques of Newcastell and Leivetennent-Generall King to fight againes the Scottis armie at Bowdounhill. Declairis he cannot say to his

[1] He was so commissioned by his sovereign; and it was only at the express desire of Montrose himself that his commission was subordinate to Prince Maurice, as Captain General. Montrose's object was to remove the jealousy of the Scottish nobility, who professed the same loyalty as himself; but he did not succeed, as may be seen from his own account of their conduct, as reported to the King, in the Instructions to Lord Ogilvy, which will be found in a subsequent Number. It was in this pernicious temper so ruinous to the monarchy, that Carnwath had refused the royal commission presented to him by Montrose, as deponed to by Major Erskine.

memorie that the Earle of Crawfurd, and the Lord Rea, was at Bowdounhill; bot the personis following were thair, viz. Colonell Cochrane, Sir James Leslie, who hade chairge in the armie, Sir Alexander Leslie, Capitane Mr William Rollok, capitane of Generall Kingis Leif-guard of horse, who now is major with the Earle of Montrois;[1] and because the deponnaris memorie cannot serve him for the present, declairis he sall give in a particular roll and list of thair names under his hand. The premisses he declairis to be of veritie, as he sall answer to God.

J. Erskine.
A. Colville.

10 *Junij* 1644. The said Major Johne Arskyne being of new examinat and sworne, maid faith, and declairis that the particular persones efter specefeit were at Bowdounhill the tyme forsaid above mentioneit, by and attour the persones above wreattin, againes the Scottishe armie, viz. Colonell William Stuart, lait adjutant in the Scottishe armie at Newcastle in anno 1641, and that he commanded a regiment of dragownes; Livetennent-Colonell Brabner, commander of Generall Kingis foot regiment; Major James Leslie, major in the same regiment; Captane Johne Blackhall, captane of ane foot companie in Generall Kingis regiment; Captane Browne, captane of the same regiment, who was shott throw the body at the said skirmyshe; Captane William Hay, captane in the same regiment of ane foot companie; Captane Leith, captane of ane foot companie in the same regiment; declairis thair wes two captanes callit Nisbetts, both of foot companies, one of them in Generall Kingis, and the other in the Marques of Newcastells regiment; Livetennent-Colonell Hamiltonne, livetennent-colonell to Generall Kingis regiment of horse; Major Ker, major in the same regiment of horse: Declairis that they were all in armes in the feildis

[1] The same, probably, who was afterwards Sir William Rollock (or Rollo), the faithful companion of Montrose in all his expeditions and dangers, and executed by the Covenanters after the battle of Philiphaugh, for his loyal adherence to that nobleman.

that day: Declairis that the troupe mentionet in the above wreittin depositione, whiche wes levied upone the Earle Carnewathes chairge,—that a part of it wes levied befoir the first of Marche 1644, and that the same wes still keipit in employment, and wes joyned to Generall Kingis regiment two dayes befoir the conflict at Bowdounhill; and declairis that the cornet of that troup wes black, and the motto wes '*I dare.*'[1] And being interogat what employment Generall King had in the Marques of Newcastell's service, deponcs, that he wes Liveteinent-Generall to the Earle [Marques] of Newcastell's armie, both for horse and foott; and that he exerceit that chairge both befoir and efter the first day of Marche last, since October 1643, at quhilk tyme the deponer went thair first. Deponis, that Mistres Persones wes designit, in the commissione granted be the Marques of Newcastell to hir, *Captane Francis Dalzell:* And this is veritie, as he sall answer to God: *Causa scientiæ* wes, that he hard and saw as he hes deponit.

J. Erskine.
Lanrick.[2]

[1] The banner and motto, namely, of the gallant Mrs Persone, otherwise 'Captain Francis Dalzell,' as she was designed in her commission from the Marquis of Newcastle. Nisbet records that King Kenneth II., distressed at the exhibition of the body of his kinsman on a gibbet, demanded, if there was one daring enough to bring it off: '*Dal zell*' (I dare), said the ancestor of that family. Hence the name, and motto, and the armorial bearing of a naked man on a shield *sable*. This explains Mrs Persone's *cornet*, which must have greatly heightened the picturesque effect of her own presence.

[2] This, and all the other depositions which follow, were very recently discovered among the archives of the Duke of Montrose; being the original depositions (not known to exist) taken by the Committee of Estates in Scotland to found the processes of forfeiture, in 1645, against Montrose and his adherents, for their loyal attempts to save the Monarchy. Lanrick (the *loyal*, according to Burnet) signs as the member of committee superintending this deposition for that purpose.

II.

27 *Maij* 1644. In presence of Lauderdail, Lanerk, Waresston: At Edinburgh.

Major Leslie depones, that the Earle of Carnewath wes present on the feilds with the Earle of Newcastell's armie, that day that the battell wes fought in March last neir Sunderland. Depones, that Carnewath raised a troupe of horse in Northumberland, whiche troupe served in Newcastell's armie, and wes called Carnewath's troupe, and that *Mistress Peirsons rode alwayes on the heid therof.*

Being demandit who were in companie with Montrose, when he invadit this kingdome,[1] moe nor are conteaned in his former deposition, depones, that, besyde these conteaned in his former depositions,[2] Sir James Leslie wes there.

Being demandit what knowledge he had of Sir James Leslie coming into Scotland three dayes before Montrose incomeing, Depones, Sir James Leslie told the deponer of it at Carleill when he come backe againe; and farder depones, when he come into the countrey, the minister of Apilgirth told the deponer he had mett with Sir James Leslie. The deponer also declares that he never heard that Sir James Leslie mett with Hartfell, bot onlie desyred to meit with him, bot could not find him; and herein he repeats his former deposition.

Depones, when Montrose come and invadit the kingdome, he come with troups of horse, and displayed cornets and trumpets, and that he brought alongs with him, neir to Annan, some companies of foote of the English nation, with displayed cullers.

[1] This refers to Montrose's first attempt to enter Scotland, when he took Dumfries in the month of April 1644, of which more *infra*.

[2] Not found among the Montrose papers.

Depones also, Montrose brought alongs with him to Dumfreis Sir Harie Stradlings, governor of Carleill's, troup.

And this he depones upon his oath.

James Leslie.
Lauderdaill.

Edinburgh, *ultimo Maij* 1644. In presence of my Lord Wariestoun, Sir William Cochrane, and the Provest of Striveling: The above mentioned James Leslie being re-examined upon oath anent those who rode in company with Montrose when he invadit this kingdome at Dumfreis, Depones, that the Earles Crawfurd and Nithisdale, the Lords Aboyne and Ogilvy, came into Scotland from Ingland in armes with the Earle of Montrose, and that the Lord Heiris joyned with thame betwixt the Border-syde and Dumfreis: And this he declares also upon oath.

James Leslie.
A. Johnston.

17 *Junij* 1644. Major James Leslie within namit being sworne be his great oath, and re-examinat, and interrogat what imployment General King hade in the Marques of Newcastell's armie, Depones, that the said General King was Leitennent-General to the Earle of Newcastell's armie of horse, to the deponer's best knowledge, and that the deponer certainlie knows Generall King was Leivetennent-Generall to the foote armie, and that he exerceit that charge baith before and efter the first day of Marche last, and since October 1643; and that the said Generall King was in armes againes the Scottisch armie at Bowdounhill, and commandit the Inglische forces there as Leivetennent-Generall, bothe upon the Sunday and Monday; and depones that the deponer himselff was major to Generall King's foote regiment, and that deponer left his service about the tent or twelff of April last, at quhilk tyme Generall King exerceit the chairge and place of Leivetennent-Generall to the

Marques of Newcastell's armie: And this he depones to be of veritie, as he sall answer to God; *reddens causam scientiæ*, becaus the deponer was in that armie, and knows and saw as he has deponit.

James Leslie.
Mr Francis Hay.
A. Douglas, I. P. D. C.

III.

Depositiounes of my Lord Kirkcudbright, and Major James Leslie, anent the particular Tyme of the Fight at Bowdounhill.

22 *Julij* 1644. Major James Leslie, of the aige of fourtie four yeirs or thairby, maried, being examinat be the Committee appoyntit be the Estaittis of Parliament for taking tryell of the relevancie and probatione of the summouns befoir the Parliament, and being sworne be his great oath, and interrogat if he was at the feild of Bowdounhill, Depones, that he was thair, and that the Erle of Montrois, Lord Aboyne, and Lord Ogilvie was thair, bot that the Erle of Crawford was not thair. Depones, that he is assured that the feild of Bowdoun was foghten efter the first day of Marche last, bot knowis not certainlie the preceis day of the fight: And this he depones to be of veritie, as he sall answer to God; *reddens causam scientiæ*, becaus the deponer was thair, and saw as he hes deponit.

James Leslie.
Balmerino, I. P. D. Com.

Eodem die. Thomas Lord Kirkcudbright, of the aige of 32 years, or thairby, mareit, being sworne upon oath, and interrogat upon what day of Marche the fight at Bowdounhill was, Depones, that to his Lord-

ship's best memorie, the fight was upon the twentie-fourth and twentie-fyfth days of Marche last; *causa scientiæ* beand, his Lordship was thair with his owne regiment, and so knowis as he hes deponit.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

BALMERINO, I. P. D. Com.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. The fight at *Hilton*, or *Bowdounhill*, the results of which might have been very important had the Marquis of Newcastle possessed the military energy which Montrose desiderated, has nearly escaped all record. Clarendon makes no allusion to it. The Duchess of Newcastle very slightly mentions it in her Memoirs of her husband, for whom she pleads the excuse, that the difficulty of the ground prevented his then effecting any result against the army from Scotland. From these depositions we now learn, *for the first time* (the fact not being mentioned even by Wishart), that Montrose was there in arms; that he was then inciting Newcastle to the encounter; and that he made no secret of his opinion that both the Commander-in-chief, and his Lieutenant-General, King, were *slow*. The only particular record of the affair, which the Editor has discovered, is by Rushworth, who assigns *precisely* the date of the conflict at Bowdounhill deponed to by Lord Kirkcudbright. Upon the 28th of February 1643–4 (the 25th of March being still at that time New Year's day in *England*), the rebel Scots passed the Tyne without opposition. On Saturday the 2d of March they passed the river Weir. On Monday the 4th of March they entered Sunderland. On Wednesday the 6th, the Marquis of Newcastle, strengthened with forces from Durham, and twelve troops of horse from York, having thus nearly fourteen thousand, horse and foot, approached within three miles of Sunderland, and threatened battle. 'The next day,' (Thursday the 7th), says Rushworth, 'all the forenoon was exceeding snowy, and about noon the Marquis drew up near them again upon *Bowden Hills*.' But his Excellency, it seems, was shy of the ground, there being fences and hedges between them, and after some feeble demonstrations he retired with his army to Durham, where he was followed by the Scots rebels. The latter, who could scarcely get any thing to eat, soon quitted those quarters, and returned towards Newcastle, where, after holding *a fast* (actual and covenanting), they took *a fort*, which Montrose took from them again the first opportunity he had. On Saturday the 23d, Newcastle marched from Durham towards Chester; and, says Rushworth, 'on Sunday 24th drew up at a place called *Hilton* (near Bowdounhill) on the north side of the river Weir, two miles and a half from Sunderland; and the Scots drew up on a hill east from them towards the sea. The armies faced one another all day, and towards night the cannon began

IV.

Octavo Junij 1644. The quhilk day the Committee appoyntit be the Estaittis of Parliament for ressaveing of depositiones of witnesses cited to that effect—*Sederunt,* Orbestoun, Justice Clerk, Mr Alexander Colvill and James Robertoun, Justice Deputies, and Mr Alexander Belsches of Toftis.

Captaine Johne M'Culloche sworne and re-examinat, rateffiet and approveit his former depositione gevin be him upon the 28 of May last by past,[1] in the haill heidis, poyntis, and circumstances thairof, with this additiones: First, that, by and attour the persones, mentionat in his former depositione, quhilkis he hes declairit he saw at the Castell of Morpeth with the Erle of Montrois and his complices, Declaires he saw thair at the said castell Johne Maxwell of Logane, and ane Leivetennent Browne of the hous of Carsluthy in Galloway; declaires, that, he being sent out of Morpeth Castell to parlie with Montrois, in the argumentis usit be the said Erle of Montrois to the deponer, to move him

to play, and parties of Musqueteers fell to it, to drive one another from their hedges, and continued shooting till eleven at night, *many being slain on each side.* The field word given by the Marquis was "Now or never,"—[not at all unlikely to have been suggested by Montrose]—by the Scots, "The Lord of Hosts is with us." On Monday they continued facing one another for some time, but many hedges and ditches between them. The Marquis, seeing no possibility of engaging, drew off towards his quarters. Then a party of the Scots *fell on his rear,* and killed and took about thirty; but Sir Charles Lucas with his brigade of horse forced them to retire.' So ended the opportunity at Bowdounhill, which, more vigourously managed, might have saved Marston Moor. Sir Philip Warwick (p 105) has this short notice of it: 'At a place called *Hilton,* a considerable loss befel the Marquis of Newcastle's foot, and he immediately thereupon marched back to York.'

[1] The former deposition here referred to is not found among the Montrose papers.

to give up the hous, he said that the deponer neidit not expect help from the Generall and Scottis armie about York, becaus they wer surprysed be assaillie out of York, and eight thousand men killed to them, and that they had mair neid of men themselfes nor to send thair men to them; and as for Waldoun, he sould tak ordour with him, as he did indeid that night; and as for supplie from Scotland, they neidit expect none, becaus the Marqueis of Huntlie was eight thousand men in the feildis, and four thousand men ryseing in the Illes; and that they had sent Leivetennent-Colonell Stewart, quha was Adjutant, to Ireland, to bring over fiftein thousand men, to be landit either in the west of Scotland or in Cumberland; and as for the Earle of Callendar his approache, we neidit not expect helpe from him, for he was onlie ingadgeit to be Leivetennent-Generall within the Kingdome of Scotland, and wald not advance to Ingland; and the reassoune of his acceptatioune of that place was onlie *for saveing of his estaitt;* and yit for all that, *when he saw his own tyme,* he was confident he wald prove *ane honest man.* He depones, having questioned the Earle of Montrois the reassoune of his incuming to Drumfreis, and invasione of this Kingdome, the said Earle declairit to the deponer that he had assurance from the Earle of Hairtfell of his assistance and raiseing of the countrie in his favours; bot the said Earle of Hairtfell deceaved him, haveing promised from day to day to draw up his men, and yit did nothing, bot proved the traitor; and [farther] said, he thocht to have betrayed him by drawing him to his hous. And the deponer having endit his discours with the Earle of Montrois, the Earle of Crawfurd cum to him and said, that the Scottis armie and sogeris, and the deponer himself, wer blinded upon a specious pretext of religione; bot that Hamiltoun and Argyll intendit nothing bot the ruine of the King and his posteritie; and this was also affirmed be the Earle of Montrois; and they both affirmed that all this bussienes was plottit be Duik Hamiltoun fourtein yeiris agoe, and spak something of *Germanie* to that effect. And declairis that, the deponer opposeing Crawfurd in his affectiones, Sir James Leslie cam to, and did sweare a

great oathe, that the Marqueis of Argyll was absolut King of Scotland, and that his cousigne, Generall Leslie, was Prince. And this he declairis to be of veritie, as he shall answer to God.

J. McCulloche.
A. Colvillle.[1]

V. Montrose to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, 15th July 1644.

Right worshipfull and most loveing Freinde,—We have beane so particular in our information, that I heave left my self nothing to say,

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest.

This deposition refers to Montrose's exploit of taking the castle of Morpeth, which had been seized and garrisoned by the Covenanting army. After the disappointment at Bowdounhill, where no doubt he expected that a fatal blow would have been given to the Scots by the Marquis of Newcastle, Montrose collected some desultory and insubordinate forces, and, about the beginning of April, took the town of Dumfries, without difficulty or bloodshed. It will be seen, from a subsequent Number (Instructions to Lord Ogilvy), wherein we have, for the first time, his own account of the matter, that all his plans were destroyed, at that time, by the jealousy and treachery even of those *loyal* Scottish noblemen upon whom he was entitled most firmly to rely. It will surprise most readers to find him particularly complaining of the loyal Earl of Crawfurd, and also of Hartfell, who is so severely handled in the above deposition. The result was, as we shall presently see, that Montrose retired from Dumfries to Carlisle, where, however, he was far from remaining inactive. After a severe and admirably conducted siege, of twenty days duration, the castle of Morpeth was rendered to him, on the 29th of May 1644. See a very minute and graphic account of this exploit, in every way worthy of the military reputation and the humanity of Montrose, in Lord Somerville's 'Memorie of the Somervilles.'

Hamilton, Argyle, and Lesly, are all truly characterized in the above deposition. Calendar, also particularly mentioned, was continually playing fast and loose. Recently he had been colleaguing with Montrose, and pledging himself to the course of loyalty. Now he was commissioned by the Estates to pursue and destroy him, but never shewed creditably in any undertaking. The excuse which Montrose makes for him is severe. See also, as to Calendar, *infra*, p. 145, *note*.

excepting, that I must still declaire unto you, under my hand, how far I am,

Your most faithfull and affectionatt freinde and servant,

Montrose.

Preston, 15 July 1644.

I pray remember me, to all freindes, and in particular goode Mr Porter; and shew, from me, all as hes passed.

I hope, with God's grace, you shall heir some goode news from us anon.

Turne the leafe.

The Marquise of Huntly wes once wery strong; and, as I am certainely informed, about five thousand horse and foot; bot busines wes unhappely caryed; and they all disbanded as misfortunately as heirtofore, withoutt stroks streikeing.[1]

Traequare is coying upon the Border; bot takes no notice of me, nor non of the King's party; and, as I am certainely informed, hes solicit for his peace; and his sone hes undertaiken a regiment with the Rebells.[2]

VI. Montrose to Ferdinand Lord Fairfax.

My Lord,—I receaved your Lordship's returne, wherwithal you must appardone me not to rest satisfied, since I conceave no such dispropor-

[1] This was the ill directed and worse than useless rising of Huntly in the North, which sacrificed the gallant Haddo. See *infra*.

[2] Montrose's estimate of that unhappy intriguer Traquair, and his son Lord Linton, was fatally confirmed at the crisis of Philiphaugh.

This letter is also from the original in the charter-chest of Mr Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode, the lineal representative of the 'good President.' Some particular information had accompanied it, which is not found.

tion as your Lordship is pleased to pretend, Mr Darly being ane parliament man,—and on that hitherto hes beane much employed, and very usefull to your party,—and the other only in the degree of a Cornell. Bot admitt of the odds: if your Lordship will dispeut it, the difference shall be maide up; if, otherwayes, you will be rather gallantly pleased to make it a curtesye, ane very thankfull and acceptable returne shall, I hope (er long) be randered your Lordship by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very humble Servand,

MONTROSE.

22 July 1644.

For the Right Honorabell
The Lord Fairfax.[1]

VII. FERDINAND LORD FAIRFAX TO THE EARL OF LEVEN, WITH TRANSCRIPT OF MONTROSE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO LORD OGILVY.

MY LORD,—I did yesternight resave some letters frome Sir Johne Meldrum, and some of my officers in Lancashire. They show that God continewes his mercie and favour to our cause, in giving a defait to the forces under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the Lord Beron, and my Lord Molyeneux; the latter of which is thought to be slaine, or wounded dangerouslie. The victorie seemes to be gott upon Thursday last, about Halfurd. He conceaves the enemie lost about one thousand horse,

[1] The above letter is from the original, recently found by the Editor in the British Museum, Sloane MSS., No. 1519, fol. 35. Montrose is here obviously in correspondence with Lord Fairfax upon the subject of an exchange of prisoners. Most probably the letter refers to Colonel Wallace, about whose release Montrose evinces anxiety in his subsequent Instructions to Lord Ogilvy. See next Number. Baillie, in a letter to Spang, dated 22d September 1643, mentions Mr Darly as one of the English Commissioners from the Parliament to the General Assembly.

three hundreth and sixty trouperis, besydes a Collonell of horse, two or three captanes, and twelfe gentlemen of great estates in that county, and all of them papistes, taken prissoneris. The Lord Ogilbie and Collonell *Mintis* or *Innes* are in their way to Hull.[1] He conceaves Sir Johne Hurrie killed; Collonell Tillisley also. I heir by Collonell Schuttilworth, a verie gallant young gentleman who tooke the Lorde Ogilbie, that a thousand pundis is promised by the Estates of Scotland for reward. He hath sent to me to desyre your Excellency's favour to procure it for him. I have heerin inclosed some paperes found about the Lord Ogilbie; they are the copies of theme, the originall I keep for some safe hand. He wryttis that twelff culloures of horse were taken in the feight. Prince Rupert is drawing all his forces out of Waillis to make a strong bodie against us. My sonne takis care for [to] send troups with the cloath and money. I remaine,

Your Exc: most, &c.

FERDINANDO FAIRFAX.[2]

York, 15 August 1644.

[1] It was Colonel Innes.

[2] This letter, and the annexed transcript of the Instructions, (which of course never reached the King), seem to be all in the autograph of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax. He commanded at this time for the Parliament in Yorkshire, and under him his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was now rapidly rising to that melancholy distinction which he attained. The paper appears to have been under a cover, and the address is lost. But there can be little doubt that the important dispatch had been sent to the Covenanting General, Leven, who, after his fright at Marston Moor (which had sent him nearly twenty miles off the field before he found out that he was running away from a victory), had returned and taken possession of Newcastle. It was not hitherto known that Montrose, unfortunately, had furnished Ogilvy with *written* Instructions, and that these had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The fact renders his safe arrival in Scotland still more miraculous. Guthry mentions that Ogilvy, with a select band of cavaliers, was dispatched to the King at Oxford, *with Instructions*, by Montrose, who then secretly prosecuted his solitary adventure, but that Ogilvy and his cavaliers, as they were passing through Lancashire, encountered a superior body of horse, and, after fighting bravely, were made prisoners, and sent to be disposed of by Leven.

Instructions for the Lord Ogilvie.

1. Your Lordship is to make the narrative of your repaire to his Majestie, to make him acquainted frome us of the wholl tract and passages of the occasion of his service touching Scotland; and our endeavoures in it; that his Majestie may be truelie informed of our diligence, and that nothing hes holden at us: Nothing hes beene performed to us, nather in what was promised nor otherwise.

2. You are to informe his Majestie of all the particulars that stumbled his service: As, Hertfell, Nithisdaill, Annandaill, Mortoun, Roxburgh, Traquhair, who rejected his Majestie's commission, and deboshed our officers, and did all that in them lay to affrount the service, and [those] who were engadged in it.

3. Your Lordship is seriouslie to represent the notable miscarriages of the Earles of Crawfurd and Nithisdaill; how often they stumbled the service, and went about to abuse us who were engadged in it, to the notable scandall and prejudice of that bussines. [1]

Wishart gives the same general account of this misadventure; but it is a mistake, on the part of the editor of Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose (Edit. 1819, p. 62), that Dr Wishart himself was along with these unfortunate cavaliers, and then made prisoner. He had fallen into the hands of Leven, when Newcastle was taken, along with the Earl of Crawfurd, and other royalists. From Lord Fairfax's dispatch, however, it would seem that Ogilvy and his cavaliers had joined company with a considerable force of the English royalists, under Lords Byron and Molineux, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and that the encounter was a serious affair. Neither Clarendon nor Sir Philip Warwick record it It is alluded to, however (but without mention of Ogilvy and his friends), in a letter from William Legge to Prince Rupert, printed by Mr Warburton in his Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, vol. iii. p. 21. The date, place, and the names of the royalists engaged, all coincide with Lord Fairfax's dispatch to Leven. The accidental manner of the recent acquisition of this curious and important document has been already stated, vol. i. pp. 211, 212.

[1] This is a severe record against these otherwise loyal noblemen. That they had conducted themselves as complained of by Montrose, cannot be doubted. He was too

4. You are to show his Majestie the course we have taken as the onlie probable way best [left?] for his service, tho *very desperat for our selves;* that if the convenience of his effares wald suffer bot a verie few supplies frome anie of his forces, it will not to be doubted bot muche might be done, if not what his Majestie desired. Bot heirin you are to earie as you find the condition of bussines when you come thither, and presse it les or more.

5. You will make all your addresse by the Lord Digbie, on whome you most seeme onlie to rely, and so to the King.[1]

anxious, more especially at this crisis, to conciliate his noble compeers, and secure their loyal co-operation, to have indulged in any hasty spleen or groundless complaints against them, and to their Sovereign. Nor would the gallant and high-minded Lord Ogilvy have submitted to be the tale-bearer, had he not been well assured that Montrose had but too good reason to pen those Instructions. The details (which are new to history) afford a melancholy picture of the distracted state of the King's counsels, and the faithlessness of 'those whom he trusted.' The ruinous contumacy of the Earls of Crawfurd and Nithisdail, their disregard of the royal commission with which Montrose had just been invested, and the obstacles which they reared against the success of his daring but well-digested scheme, were the more discreditable to these noblemen that they were both parties to the preliminary Bond at Oxford. Jealousy of the high commission which the King had bestowed upon 'a man of so much honour' as he declared Montrose to be, and whose energetic talents and martial qualities so manifestly justified the selection, could be the only reason for thwarting him at this serious crisis. Of Crawfurd, especially, we must say, *Et tu Brute!* He has been recently recorded, by the distinguished biographer of the Lindsays, the heir to his honours, as 'the loyal Earl of Crawfurd;' and he deserves the title. But this record of his ill-timed jealously casts a cloud upon his fame. Montrose was nobly revenged in the following year. The result of their jealous cabals came to be, that Montrose was stripped of all his resources except that royal commission which they had insulted. Yet ere a twelvemonth had elapsed, his career of victory led him to the door of the Tolbooth in Scotland, where Crawfurd was then lying, the doomed prisoner of the Kirk, but saved by Montrose.

[1] Lord Digby was Secretary of State, and by him Charles was entirely guided in his furtherance of Montrose's scheme for the reduction of Scotland. Moreover, it was principally with Digby that Montrose had arranged it at Oxford.

6. You are to desire some blank commissions to use upon occasion, and represent the injustice done to Haddo, and these that hes suffered in that kynd.[1]

7. You will informe and ply all the Inglishes, and those about the King's freinds, and otheris, verie particularlie touching all that hes past in the bussines.

8. You are to doe in this or further as occasiones may require, and as you shall think fit, and be advised be Sir William Fleyming and Sir Robert Spottiswood.

9. You are to call Sir William Fleyming as witnes still to that you represent to his Majestie.

10. You are to represent particularlie our base useage by their Countyes.

11. Whatever shall befall, your Lordship is to make all possible haist and dispatch, and to stay for nothing, bot be sure within a moneth, or five weekes at furthest, to fall in with what force les or more that possible you can; and direct some two or three confident persons before you, severallie, leist some be intercepted, that may give us notice how all hes gone, and what we have to expect, that we may putt our selves in some frame to be all aloft at once against your entrie.

Sic subscribitur, MONTROIS.

1. You will be pleased to use all means with the Lord Digbie, the

[1] Gordon of Haddo (ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen) was the first of the distinguished victims of the Kirk who were doomed for their loyalty. Argyle and his clergy decreed his death. Not long previously, Huntly had gathered his forces, and made a great stir in the North,—one of those fussy but aimless risings which invariably ended in his own disgrace, and the bitter disappointment of the gay and gallant Gordons. Upon this occasion he compromised to the death (besides others) Sir John Gordon of Haddo, one of the finest characters of those troubled times. See his character drawn, and the whole story told, inimitably by Spalding. Haddo was executed upon the 19th of July 1644.

Earle of Forth, Maister Porter, Maister Ashburnhame, and all other freinds, for Collonell Wallace's releeffe.

2. That his Majestie be solicitat particularlie for Prince Morice his repaire to Scotland, and that the Lord Digbie be seriouslie delt with all, and all meanes be used for that effect.[1]

1. The possibilitie of busines, had they beene done in tyme, evidentlie do appear by that, at the least, that we have done; which shewes cleerlie that his Majestie hath formerly bot beene betrayed by those whome he trusted.

2. With what good reason we did undertake it; since if anie poynt of the capitulation had beene observed to us,—as money, supplies from Newcastle, armes and ammunition frome Denmark, Antrim fallin in the countrey himselfe with a thousand men, and much of that kynd,—we could easily have done the busines. Nay, tho *nothing* wes held good to us, yitt we could easilie have affected it, notwithstanding, had either we not stayed at Dumfreis, or retreatted towards Strivelling; whill we went to Carleill, and by these meanes all that befell.[2]

[1] At his own special request, and after a commission in chief had actually been made out for him, Montrose held his first commission to Scotland under Prince Maurice, as Captain General.

[2] This account by Montrose himself is aptly and curiously illustrated by the following passage in the Memoirs of Sir James Turner, the Sir Dugald Dalgetty of Sir Walter Scott:—'Meane while my Lt.-Colonell (a brother of the Lord Sinclair) and I had severall consultations with my Lord Erskine, my Lord Napier, the Master of Napier, the Master of Maddertie, and Laird of Keir, all of them verie loyall persons, with whom we concluded it was fit to send two, one from them, and another from us, to Montrose, who was then in the border, to invite him to come to Stirline, where he sould find castle, toune, and regiment at his devotion, and St Johnston likewise. And, least he might think we meant not honestlie, in regard there had been no good understanding between him and my Lord Sinclare formerlie, his neece, the Ladie Keir, sent him a well-known token with Harie Stewart, who was the man we sent; and this he receaved. The messenger they sent was yonng Balloch Drummond, then very loyall, whatever he was afterwards. I beleeve he got not to him; bot Montrose having a little too sone entered Scotland, and met with a rasle near Dumfries, and upon it retired to England, it seems he

3. That till we wes called away by the Prince, by two peremptorie orders, frome off the Borders, Callender did not come in, nor could not so long as we had stayed. Bot the Prince when we come to him took all the force frome us, and would supplee us with non. So we were left abandoned; nather would they do us so much as give our persons quartering on this countrey.

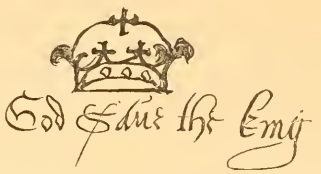
4. How possible busines *are yitt*, and the reasons, if right courses be taken.[1]

thought it not safe with so inconsiderable troops to hazard so far as to Stirline, perhaps not giving full trust to our promise, and most beeause the committee had appointed a second levie, which then was farre advanced, under the command of the Earl of Callander, who, with the deepest oathes, even wishing the Supper of our Lord to turne to his damnation, which he was to take next Sunday, if ever he sould engadge under them, or with these Covenanters, had persuaded me in his oune house of Callander, and upon a Lord's day too, that he would faithfullie serve the King,—I say, by Montrose his neglect, and Callander's perfidie, was lost the fairest oceasion that could be wished to do the King serviee; for, if that levie had been supprest, as very soon it would, and Montrose have comed to Stirline and joynd with our two regiments, as easilie he might, he wold with the assistanee of Huntlie in the north, and these Irish, who soone after came over from Antrim, have reduced Scotland, without bloodshed, to their dutie and obedience, or else the Scots armie beene forced to have left England, and marched home to oppose us; upon whose retreate it is more than probable most of England wold have embraced the King's interest; the reputation of the Scots armie at that time keeping up the English Parliament's interest; bot the inauspitious fate and disastrous destinie of the incomparablie good King wold not have it to be so.' (Memoirs, p. 35.)

But the learned mercenary had not heard Montrose's own story.

[1] Montrose amply verified this by immediately proceeding alone to his conquest of Scotland, when cheated of every resource from England, disappointed in the whole plan arranged at Oxford, and without a man to back him. We have now also, for the first time, *Montrose's own account* of Prince Rupert's conduct to him at the crisis of Marston Moor. These documents are not to be found in the recent publication of the Fairfax correspondence, nor are the events which they disclose. What a commentary did Montrose afford, by his astounding career in Scotland, from September 1644 to September 1645, upon the last paragraph of this interesting document!

VIII. Declaration by Montrose upon raising the Standard in Scotland, 1644.



A Declaratione of the right Honorabell James Marquis of Montros His Excellencie.

It wer more (I am confident) then superfluous to expresse from what invincible necessitie his sacred Majestie, after all essayes, hath bein at last constrained to set his service a foot heir in this Kingdome; our reason, his Majestie's several proclamations, and our owne consciences, may convince,—nay the miraculous dealings of Almightie God sufficientlie confirme unto us. Alwayes, such hath bein the obstinacie of some, and ignorance of others, in there awne pernitious and blind resolutions, as they wold rather hassard to plead guilty of that sin which cannot be pardoned, nor to forgo there horrid or superstitious courses; still striving the more to cover there owne wickedness or absurditie, to tax his sacred Majestie, and brand his service, with all the desperat calumnies (which I abhore to remember) that hell or malice could fashion: Wherfor, to justifie the dewtie and conscience of his Majestie's service, and satisfie all his faithfull and loyall hearted subjects, I, in his Majestie's name and authoritie, solemnelie declare, that the ground and intention of his Majestie's service heir in this Kingdome (according to our owne solemne and national oath and covenant) only is for the defence and maintenance of the trew Protestant religion, his Majestie's just and sacred authoritie, the fundamentall lawes and priveledges of

Parliaments, the peace and freedom of the oppressed and thralled subject; and that in thus far, and no more, doeth his Majestie require the service and assistance of his faithful and loveing hearted subjects, not wishing them longer to continew in there obedience than he persisteth to maintaine and adhere to those ends. And the farther yet to remove all possibility of scruple,—lest, whilst from so much dewtie and conscience I am protesting for the justice and integritie of his Majestie's service, I my selfe should be unjustly mistaken,—(as no doubt I have hitherto beine, and still am), I doe again most solemnly declare, that knew I not perfectly his Majesties intention to be such and so reall as is already exprest, I should never at all [have] embarked myselfe in this service. Nor, did I but sie the least appearance of his Majesties change from those resolutions, or any of them, should I ever continue longer my faithfull endeavours in it; which I am confident will prove sufficient against all unjust and prejudicial malice, and able to satisfie all trew Christians, and loyall hearted subjects and countriemen who desyre to serve their God, honour their Prince, and injoy there owne happie peace and quyet.

MONTROSE.[1]

IX. MONTROSE TO ARGYLE, 1644.

MY LORD,—I wonder at your being in armes for defence of rebellion, yourself well knowing his Majesties tenderness, not only to the whole countrie, whose patron you would pretend to be, but to your own person in particular.[2] I beseech you, therefore, to return to your alle-

[1] Original draft, or contemporary copy, Napier charter-chest. This Declaration has not been printed elsewhere. It was composed, most probably, sometime in the year 1644, as the preliminary of raising the Standard in Scotland. The wood-cut is from the original manuscript.

[2] Montrose here alludes to his Majesty's

giance, and submit yourself, and what belongs unto you, as to the grace and protection of your good King; who, as he hath hitherto condescended unto all things asked, though to the exceeding great prejudice of his prerogative, so still you may find him like an indulgent father, ready to embrace his penitent children in his armes, although he hath been provoked with unspeakable injuries. But if you shall still continue obstinate, I call God to witness that through your own stubbornness I shall be compelled to endeavour to reduce you by force. So I rest

Your friend, if you please,

MONTROSE.[1]

settlement of Scotland, in 1641, when Argyle received a Marquisate as the price of his allegiance.

[1] This characteristic note of warning and defiance to the *de facto* King of Covenanting Scotland, has been preserved, but without the date or address, in a rare volume printed at Oxford in 1661, and entitled, 'Blood for Blood, or murthers revenged; by T. M. Esqr.;' for the use of which I am indebted to C. K. Sharpe, Esq. It contains, *inter alia*, a short sketch of Montrose's campaigns; and also a view of his execution, in one of the compartments of a curiously engraved frontispiece. It was printed about the time of Argyle's execution, and the argument is, that Montrose's 'formal murther' was avenged in that just and legal retribution. Montrose is described as 'a nobleman rarely accomplished, valiant without faction, no man having done more heroic acts than he:' Argyle is characterised as 'a man both ambitious and cunning, servile, yet envious to his betters, tyrannical where he could get an advantage, and willing to any evil to get himself honour and safety.' The narrative is correct in the outline, but hasty and confused in the details. It has preserved this letter to Argyle, and another from Montrose to Huntly, which will appear in its order in these Memorials. That to Argyle is said to have been sent immediately before Montrose's first victory in Scotland, which the strain of the letter itself corroborates. It coincides also with those expressions in the previous letter to President Spottiswoode,—'Argyle, upon the rumour of our coming, is returned to Scotland in haste, to prepare against us there; but we intend to make all possible despatch to follow him at the heels, in whatsoever posture we can.' See p. 123.

X. Depositions before the Committee of Estates relating to the Battle of Tippermuir, and the taking of Perth by Montrose upon Sunday the 1st of September 1644.

I.

[*The Master of Madertie loquitur.*]

3 *Januarij* 1645. David, Master of Madertie, of the aige of 31 years, or thereby, mareit, being sworne and interrogatt anent thois whom he did see with the Erle of Montroiss, and in companie with the Irish rebells, and anent the Erle of Montroiss his caridge, and thois who wer with him, or his complices, or the Irish rebells, Depones, that before the conflict at Perth, upon the Wednisday and Thursday befoir the same, the deponer wes with Sir Johne Drumond at the bridge of Halymilne; and upon the Satterday therefter the deponer wes sent be Sir Johne Drumond to gett orders from the Lord Drumond for his marching, the said Sir Johne and the deponer being then in armes for the Cuntrie; and that the deponer mett with my Lord [laird] Gask neirby the castell of Methven, who shew him that the deponer wald find the Lord Drumond at the bridge of Amont, and that therefter the deponer went to the bridge of Amont, where he did not encounter the Lord Drumond: Whereupon the deponer, fearing to fall in the rebells hands, they being lying near, and comeing doune that way (as he hard say), the deponer returned back to Sir Johne Drumond to the bridge of Halymylne. Depones, that als soon as the deponer wes come in to Sir Johne Drumond, and a little efter the same, the Erle of Montroiss came to Sir Johne Drumond, at the hill of Buchantie, besyd the bridge of Halliemylne; and depones that the Erle of Montroiss had sent, befor that tyme, about three or four hundreth comanded men to the foot of the said hill, who had environed Sir Johne Drumond and his men. Depones, that Sir Johne Drumond and the deponer, and the rest of

their forces, stayed at the Moore of Fowles all that night with the Erle of Montroiss and his forces. Depones, that upon Sonday, in the morning, the day of the fight, the deponer being sent be the Erle of Montroiss to the Lord Elcho, to know if he thocht the Kingis commissione wes ane sufficient warrand for the Erle Montroiss, for what he wes doing, the deponer came and mett with the Lord Elcho that morning upon the feilds, and that the Lord Elcho sent the deponer with a guaird to the toune of St Jonstoune, where the deponer wes keipit under guaird till the feight was done, and the toun randered to the enemyes. Depones, that the deponer went alongis with Montroiss from St Jonstone to Brechin, and that he came off from Montroiss and the rebells at Brechin, as he thinks upon the Monday or Tuesday wes eight dayes, efter the fight, or the Tuesday therefter. Depones, he saw John Drumond of Bellielone in the toune of Perth, when the Erle of Montroiss and the Irish armie wes there, and that he wes upon the streitts, and that he hard say that he wes come anent the buriall of ane uncle of his who wes killed at Tippermure field; and never saw him therefter. Depones, that he saw James Mushatt of that ilk with the Lord Kilpont's regiment, upon the Satturday before the fight, efter that the Lord Kilpont had joyned with the Erle Montroiss and the rebells; and that he saw the said James Muschatt in the toun of St Johnstoune, bot never saw him therefter with thame. Depones, that he saw Mr John Fletcher, Advocatt, in the rebell's armie, at the bak of the law of Dundee, and saw bot ane sight of him, bot never saw him therefter with thame. Depones, he saw Johne Chisholme, of Cromlix, in St Johnstoune when the rebells were there, and did only see him once upon the streitts, bot did never see him with the rebells therefter. Depones, he saw Alexander Robertsone, of Ludd, with the rebells in St Johnstoune, when they were there, and never saw him with thame therefter, at any

Johne Drumond of Bellielone.[1]

James Muschet of that ilk.

Mr John Flescher, Advocatt.

Johne Cheisholme of Cromlix.

Alexander Robertsone of Lude.

[1] The marginal repetitions of the names, in all these depositions, are in the original MS., and have been retained here for the convenience of reference.

certane place that he can remember; bot thinks he hes seen him, bot remembers not the place. Depones, that when the Erle Montroiss and the rebells were at St Johnstone, he saw Mr Thomas Stewart in companie with the rebells, in St Johnstoun, bot never saw him with thame therefter. And the deponer having heard the names, of suche conteanit in the rolls as hes been askit at him, redd to him, depones, he hes sein no other of those in companie with the Erle of Montroiss and the rebells, bot as he hes deponit; and depones the premisses to be of veritie, as he sall answer to God. *Reddens causam scientiæ ut supra.*

Mr Thomas Stewart, sone to the Comissary of Dunkeld.

MR. MADERTIE.

FORRESTER, *I. P. Com.*[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest.

David Drummond, Master of Madertie, who became third Lord Madertie, was twice married. His first wife, Alison Creightoun, died in March 1639. The Master next married Lady Beatrix Graham, Montrose's youngest sister; and therefore, at the period referred to in his deposition, he was Montrose's brother-in-law. See vol. i. p. 89. The state of Scotland at the time will sufficiently account for this near connexion of Montrose, and certainly loyally inclined nobleman, being in arms 'for the Country,' as well as Lord Kilpont and Sir John Drummond, when they met with and joined forces with Montrose immediately before the battle of Tippermuir. When the sudden advent of the King's avenger took the whole of Scotland by surprise, that unhappy country had completely fallen under the tyrannical dominion of Argyle and the Kirk. Even loyalists were constrained to disguise themselves as rebels. Notwithstanding the Master of Madertie's necessarily very cautious and reserved deposition, there can be no doubt that he, Lord Kilpont, and Sir John Drummond, had joined Montrose from affection and not from fear. The state of the case, as published by Dr Wishart, in the lifetime both of Montrose and Madertie, could scarcely fail to be accurate, and throws no doubt upon the loyalty of the latter. He had been sent by Montrose to Elcho, in order to proclaim his commission from the Sovereign, as whose Lieutenant he was acting, with a view of preventing bloodshed. See also the notice, by Sir James Turner, of Madertie's loyal habits, *supra*, p. 144, *note*.

II.

[*The Provost of Perth loquitur.*]

Ultimo Januarij 1645. Robert Arnott of Benchells, Proveist of Perth, of the aige of 55 yeares, mareit, being sworne, and interrogatt anent the Erle of Montroiss his own caridge, and anent the caridge of thoiss whome he did see with the Erle Montroiss and the Irish rebells in companie, Depones, that efter the Erle Montroiss had summoned the toun of Perth to render upon the Sunday, the day of the fight at Tibbermure,—efter the fight in the evening, the Erle and six hundreth of his sojours, or thereby, enterit the toun that night, and remained in the toun three or four dayes. Depones, that the Erle of Montroiss, at his entrie in to the toun, took the keyes of the port from the Magistraits, at quhilk port he enterit, viz., the Hie-gaitt port; and that about midnight young Inchbrakie, callit Patrick Grahame,[1] came to the deponeris hous, and did expostulatt with him why he keipit guairds within the toun efter the Erle Montroiss had enterit the toun; whairupon the deponer wes forced to dischairge the ordnair guaird of the toun, and immediatlie therefter the Erle Montroiss, and his adherents that wer with him, put guairds to all the ports. Depones, that the deponer, passing by the markeitt-crose of the toun, hard a proclamatioune issued from the Erle Montroiss, bot knowis not the terms thereof. Depones, that upon the Monday, in the efternoon, the Erle Montroiss, and the rebells that wer with him, did imprisone within the Kirk of St Johnstoune three or four hundreth, or thereby, of the Fyff sojours, and uther sojours that wer fighting for the Cuntrie, who wer taken captives efter the fight upon the Sonday and Monday; and that they were keepit all

[1] His *sobriquet* in the Highlands was *black Pate*, to whom Montrose first revealed himself in the north. He was the son of Montrose's Curator, who took such care of his books at college, in the year 1627. See vol. i. p. 143.

that night into the kirk, and were keepit in prisone and under guaird till the Erle and the rebells left the toune, and that the rebells took thame away as prisoners with thame. Depones, that the Erle Montroiss behavit himself as chieff commander of all the rebells. Depones, that upon the Fryday efter the fight, when the deponer and certaine tounsmen went out to bury thair dead men, the deponer fand that many slayne men had been buried befor he came, and that the deponer saw the number of three or four score slayne lying unburied upon the feilds, all stripit naiked of thair clothes. Depones, that he saw John Drumond, portioner of Bellicloune, commonallie callit of Dubbettis, in St Jonstoune, when the Erle Montroiss and the rebells were thair, sundrie tymes in companie with said rebells. Depones, he saw the Lairds of Braco and Orkill in St Jonstoune, when the Erle Montroiss and the rebells were thair; and saw them in the Erle Montroiss his gallerie. Depones, that he saw Johne Stewart of Innerchanochane and Donald Robertsone, Tutor of Strowane, with the Erle Montroiss and the rebells in Perth the tyme forsaid, when they were thair efter the fight at Tuppermure, and that they behaveit thairselffis as commanders there. Depones, that when the rebells enterit the toun, the haill suburbis, for the most part, wer spoulzeit and robbed. Depones, that Mr Williame Forrett wes with the Erle Montroiss, when the Erle and the rebells wer in St Jonstoune the tyme forsaid; and that Mr Williame Forrett,[1] as having commission from the Erle, commandit the Magistrats to pay fiftie pound sterling, for Allester M'Donald's use; and that the Magistrats gat ordours to delyver the money to Mr Williame Forrett, and that Mr Williame desyrit the Magistrats to delyver the same to Margareat Donaldsoun, and that he wald ressaue the same from hir; conforme

John Drumond of Dubbettis.

Braco and Urchill.

Innerchanochquhon.

Donald Robertsone, Tutor of Strowane.

Mr William Forret.

[1] It is interesting to find Montrose's old tutor reappearing at this crisis of his quondam pupil's career. See vol. i. p. 141. The Marquis, it seems, had made him one of his Chamberlains, and sent for him, immediately after taking Perth, once more to hold his purse. See Master William Forrett's own deposition, Number XI.

whereunto the Magistrats did delyver the money to the said Margareat Donaldson, and that Margareat Donaldsone assured the deponer that Mr Williame had gottin the money from hir. Depones, that the Erle Montroiss, and the rebells that enterit the toun with him at the tyme forsaid, forced sum inhabitants of the toun to give thame great quantities of cloth, to the number of four thousand merks worth; and that he took sum amounitione quhilk pertainit to the Fyff souldiers, and wes lyand in thair magazein. And this he depones to be of veritie, as he shall answer to God. *Causa scientiæ*, becaus the deponer wes Proveist and saw and hard as he hes deponit.

Robert Arnot.
Forrester, I. P. Com.

III.

[*The Sheriff-clerk of Perth loquitur.*]

Mr Patrick Maxwell, Sheriff-clerk of Perth, of the aidge of 35 years, mariet, being sworne, and interrogatt anent thois whom he did see with the Erle Montroiss, and in companie with the Irish rebells, and anent the said Erle of Montroiss his carridge with the Irish rebells, Depones, that the day of the fight at Tibbermure, the deponer went out to the feilds on foot to see the event of the conflict, bot being besyd the baggadge of the Estaitts forces, he had not a perfytt view of the Irish rebells. Depones, that that night of the conflict the deponer hard that the toune should have been rendered the morne at nyne houris; and that the morne about eleven houris he saw the Erle of Montroiss in the toun of Perth, and that thair come in with the Erle of Montroiss three hundreth men, or therby, to the deponer's knowledge; and that the haill ports of the toune, and the river lykwyes, wer guairded be the Erle Montroiss his forces. Depones, that the Erle Montroiss behaved himself, while he wes in the toun, as Livetennent-Generall of the armie;

and that the deponer wes forced, for fear of his lyff (being broght be David Grahame of Gorthie, and three hilanders with him, to the Erle Montroiss), to wreat ane *generall protectioune* for the inhabitants of the toun of Perth, and lands about the same, whairinto the said Erle Montroiss caused designe himselfe 'Marques of Montroiss, Livetennent-Generall of the King's armies in Scotland,' and did subscryve the same. Depones, that therefter the Lord Kinpont gave the deponer the forme of ane letter, and compelled him to wreat severall coppies therof, quhilk wes of the strayne following, to the deponer's memorie, viz.—

'Right honourabell Sir: Being here in armes for his Majesties just authoritie and serviee, these ar to requyre you, in his Majesties name, that you will repair heir, or where I shall be for the tyme, with all the force possible ye can mak, as ye will answer to his Majestie, and [for] what may ensue. So I am your most loveing freind, Montroiss.'

And depones, that severall of these coppies wer direct to severall gentilmen in the countrie. Depones, he saw Johne Drumond of Bellielone waiting upon the Erle Montroiss, in the utter rowme in Margareat Donaldsones hous in Perth, bot cannot affirme the same certainlie. Depones, he saw Mr James Hendersone of M'Carrastoune within the toun of Perth, the tyme when the Erle Montroiss wes thair, and that he did see him in hieland weed thair, upon the Tuesday efter the conflict. Depones, he saw Sir Johne Grahame of Braco, and Johne Grahame of Urkle, in the Erle Montroiss his ludging in Margareat Donaldsons hous in Perth on the Tuesday efter the conflict, and hard say that they broght in the Erle of Montroiss his two sones with thame. Depones, that he saw the Master of Madertie in the forsaid gallerie the said Tuesday, and that he saw him broght in to the toun, upon the Sonday before, as captive, be Bachiltoune elder, Balmedy, and his sone. Depones, that he saw Alester M'Donald, callit *Coalkittoch*, with the Erle Montroiss at that same tyme in St Jonstone, and that he hard the Erle

Mr James Hendersone of M'Carraustoun.

Braco and Urquhill.

Master of Madertie.

Allaster M'Donald.

Montroiss speik to him, and design him 'General-Major.' Depones, he saw Patriek Grahame, fear of Inchbrakie, with the Erle Montroiss upon the Monday efter the conflict, in Perth, in hieland weed. Depones, that he saw Johne Grahame, fear of Balgoun, in the gallerie of Margareat Donaldsones hous, whair Montroiss ludged, upon the Tuesday forsaid. Depones, he saw Robert Grahame of Nether-Cairny in the said gallerie the day forsaid. Depones, he saw John Chisholme of Cromlix in the said gallerie the said Tuesday. Depones, that he saw Alexander Inglis, Deane of Gild of Perth, upon the Sabboth day before the conflict, with ane two-handit sword upon his shulder, for defence of the tounc when the tounsmen wer of resolutione to keip the toun, and that he saw him go with the rest of the Magistratts of the toun to speik Montroiss efter the toune wes randered. Depones, he saw Andro Reid go in with the saids Magistratts to speik with the said Erle Montroiss at the said tyme. Depones, he saw the laird of Ludd, Robertsone, upon the Wednesday efter the conflict, in hieland weed, going out at the south Inch port, at the Erle of Montroiss his back, when the port wes opened. Being interrogatt if he saw [Donald] Robertsone, the Tutor of Strowane, with the Erle Montroiss in Perth, Depones, he knows not the man, bot that he saw ane man upon the streitts of St Jonstone, *going in ane furious way,* and when he speired what he wes, they said it wes the Tutor of Strowane, the tyme forsaid. Depones, that he saw Mr Thomas Stewart, sone to the Comissary of Dunkeld, with sum men in hieland weed, going up and doune the toun of Perth, the Tuesday forsaid. And the deponer having hard the haill rolls redd to him, depones, that he saw no other of the persones therein conteanit, as they are designit in the rolls, in companie with the Erle

Inchbrakie younger.

Balgoun younger.

Robert Grahame of Nether Cairny.

Mr Cheisholme of Cromlix.

Alexander Inglis, Sheriff Deput.[1]

Andro Reid.

Robertsone of Lude.

The Tutor of Strowane.

Mr Thomas Stewart, sone to the Comissary of Dunkeld.

[1] *Sic. in orig.* Probably a clerical error, as in his own deposition (which is just a repetition of the Sheriff-clerk's) Alexander Inglis is merely designed Dean of Guild. The Dean of Guild going about the town, *before* the fight, with a two-handed sword upon his shoulder, and that important highland personage, the Tutor of Strowan, going about the town, *after* the fight, 'in ane furious manner,' and the laird of Lude, 'in hieland weed,' acting as Montrose's hench-man, are very graphic incidents.

Montroiss or the rebells; and the premisses are of veritie, as he shall answer to God. *Reddens causam scientiæ ut supra.*

P. Maxwell.
Forrester, I. P. Com.

IV.

[*Sir Johne Graham of Braco loquitur.*]

27 *Januarij* 1645. Sir Johne Grahame of Braco, Knight, of the aige of 31 years, or thairby, being sworne and interrogat anent those whom he did see with the Erle of Montroiss, and in companie with the Irishe rebells, Depones, that he came to St Jonstone upon Tuesday efter the conflict at Tippermuir, *with the Erle of Montroiss his two sones,* and that upon the Thursday thairefter the deponer went out of St Jonstone with the Erles two sones, and followed the Erle of Montroiss, who had left St Jonstone upon the Wednesday befoir, and came to the Erle befoir the Erle and the Irishe rebells came to Dundie-law; and aboad with the Erle till the Monday thairefter, or Tuesday in the morning, at whiche tyme the deponer cam aff from the Erle *without goodnight.* Depones, that the Erle of Montroiss, all the tyme the deponer was with him, behaved himself as chieff commander of the Irishe rebells; and that the deponer saw Alester M'Donald in the rebells armie, and that the deponer heard the said Alester named and termed to be Generall-Major of the Irishe rebells. Depones, that he saw Johne Grahame younger of Fintrie in the rebells armie four myles beyond Coupar of Angus, or thairby, upon Fryday efter Tippermuir-feild; and that upon the Monday he saw the said John Grahame younger of Fintrie at Brechane, in the rebells armie with the Erle of Montrois. Depones, he saw young Bonymone in the rebells armie, upon the said Fryday, in the same feild where he saw young Fintrie, bot never saw the said Bonymone thairefter with the said rebells. Depones, that

Alester M'Donald.

John Grahame younger of Fintrie.

Balnamone younger.

John Drummond of Belliclone.

James Muschet younger of that Ilk.

Mr James Hendersone of McCarranstoun.

Mr William Hunter of Balgayes.

John Drummond of Belliclone went in to St Jonstone with the deponer, and lichted when the deponer lichted, bot never saw him thairefter with the rebells. Depones, that he saw James Mushatt younger of that Ilk, upon the Tuesday or Wednesday, in St Jonstoun, efter Tippermure-feild, upon the long Inch, the Erle being upon the Inch for the tyme, bot never saw him with the rebells sensyne. Depones, that he saw Mr James Henderson of McCarrastoune, at that same tyme, in the toun of St Jonstoune, and, as the deponer remembers, in hieland clothes, bot never saw him therefter with the rebells. Depones, he saw Mr Williame Huntar of Balgayes upon his own ground when the rebells came through the same, and the deponer hard that the said Mr William came to complean to the Erle Montroiss for certaine skeath that the Erles sojours had done to his cornes. Depones, that Jone Grahame of Urkle came to St Jonstoun with the deponer at the tyme forsaid, and, having mett and spoke with the Erle Montroiss, he came aff with the deponer, *without goodnight*.

[Here the deponer enumerates the following, as having been seen by him at the Law of Dundee, immediately after the battle of Tippermure, in company with Montrose at this tyme, viz. :—'The Master of Maddertie; Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvyis, sones to the Erle of Airlie; Alexander Ogilvy younger of Innerquharatie; Major Johne Ogilvy; Johne Wishart of Logywishart; James Grahame of Claypotts; James Broun of Lackway; Patrick Grahame younger of Inchbrakie; David Grahame of Gorthie; Mr James Grahame of Monzie; John Grahame, fear of Balgowne; Robert Grahame of Cairny; Johne Drummond younger of Balloche; James Bayne of Findaill; Johne Drummond of Dibbetts; David Muschat of Culziechat; John Stewart of Innerchannoquhan.'][1]

[1] Having afforded specimens of these depositions in a complete form, it was thought unnecessary to give all the other depositions in full, or adhere to the prolix mode of enumerating the individuals mentioned, except where some incident is alluded to. The names enumerated, however, will be noted shortly, as above, many old family names and designations, some of which are now extinct, being thereby accurately recorded.

Depones, that when the deponer wes coming throw the feild of Tippermure, upon the Tuesday efter the fight, the deponer saw severall slayne men upon the feild, to the number of threttie or fourtie, all striped naked.

Sir J. G. Braco.[1]
Forrester, I. P. Com.

XI. Depositions and other Documents illustrating Montrose's movements with the Royal Army, from the Battle of Tippermuir to the Battle of Inverlochy.

I.

[*Mr William Forrett loquitur.*]

30 *Januarij* 1645. Master William Forrett, of the aige of fourtie nyne years, unmaried, being sworne, and interrogatt anent those whom he did see with the Earle of Montrois, in companie with him and the Irish rebells, and anent the Earle of Montrois his cairage, and his complices, and cairage of the Irish rebells,—Depones, that the first tyme the deponer cam in to the Earle of Montrois, he being in companie with the rebells within the towne of Perth, was upon the Monday at night efter the fight at Tibbermuir, the deponer being sent for then be

[1] Orginals, Montrose charter-chest. This Sir John Graham of Braco was the son of Sir William Graham of Braco, Montrose's paternal uncle and curator. See vol. i. p. 83. Consequently, he was his cousin-german. Sir John did not long survive, as his son, Sir William, served heir to him in 1627. John Graham of Orchill, who is stated to be forty-one years of age, in his deposition (which is just an echo of Braco's), is probably the same who was one of Montrose's curators. The loyalty of these branches of his House cannot be questioned; but for some reason or other they had resolved to keep out of the storm, and accordingly parted from Montrose at Perth, in the words of their own depositions, *without goodnight*. See as to Montrose's sons, *infra*.

the Earle of Montrois, and that he stayit in the towne of Perth with the said Earle till the said Earle departit out of the said towne; and being directit be the said Earle to stay about sum bussines thair, he did not see the said Earle therefter till Sunday, when he cam to the said Earle at Forfar-muir. Depones, that he went alongis with the said Earle to Aberdein, and cam up from thence throw the Hielands, be Badzenoch and Athoill, and that he was with the said Earle at the *second tour* throw Angus to Crathes, and from thence cam about throw Badzenoche and Athoill till he cam to Loch Tay, whair the deponer left the said Earle of Montrois and the Irish rebells, upon the ellevent day of December last.[1] Depones, that the Earle of Montrois commissioun, as Leivetennent-Generall of the Kingdome of Scotland for his Majestie, was publischit at Aberdein, and that the deponer hard the samyne publischit. Depones, that when the Earle of Montrois and the rebells war in Sanct Johnstoun,[2] that he saw Sir Peitter Hay of Meginsche with the Earle of Montrois, in his own chalmer, and sum uther gentilmen in the Kers with them, and never

Laird of Meginsch.

[1] Attending this extraordinary circular progress of Montrose with his army, in the depth of a severe winter, and through districts nearly inaccessible, was no doubt the hardest duty which Master William Forrett ever had to perform in the employment of his noble pupil, and a very different *coursing* from that which they used to enjoy together, with the 'white naig' and the 'brown horse,' some twenty years before. Argyle followed the royal Lieutenant at a respectful distance, with a much superior force, and met his first disgrâce from him at Fyvie, about the end of October 1644. The Committee of Estates, the original records of which prove the great military resources placed at the command of Argyle against Montrose, was sorely galled by the unaccountable failure of their champion. Principal Baillie's involuntary compliment to Montrose conveys a corresponding rebuke to the Generals of the Covenant: 'You heard,' he says, after mention of the battle of Aberdeen, 'what followed? That *strange coursing*, as I remember, *thrice round about from Spey to Athol*, wherein Argyle and Lothian's soldiers were *tired out*.' The discipline of this *coursing* was the making of Montrose's army, and was crowned with the successive victories of Inverlochy, Auldearne, Alford, and Kilsyth.

[2] It will be observed, that, throughout these depositions, this town is called Perth and St Johnstoun indiscriminately.

saw him thairefter with the Earle of Montrois nor the rebells. Depones, he saw ane William Futhie in the rebells armie at the conflict at Aberdein, and at several tymes thairefter, and that he was the Earle of Airlies domestik servand. Depones the lyk of James Arratt, wha was lykwayes the Earle of Airlies domestik servand. Depones, that he saw Johne Cheisholme of Cromlix in Sanct Johnstoun, upon Monday efter the fight of Tibbermure, and that he saw him in the Earl of Montrois his galerie, and saw him not thairefter with the said Earle nor the rebells. Depones, that he saw John Stewart of Scheirglass in the rebells armie, when the rebells went first to the Blair of Athoill, efter the deponer went in to the said Earle, and that he saw him thairefter at the Blair of Athoill, at the second tour, and that he hes seen him in discourse with the Earle severall tymes, and that he furneschit all viveris to the Earles house when he was in Athoill. Depones, that he saw William Fergussone of Balleheukane with the Earle of Montroiss in the rebells armie in Athoill, at the second tour, and that the Earle of Montrois quartered in his house. Depones, that he saw Angus M^cPhersone of Innerysie with the rebellis at his awin house in Badzenoch, the second tour, and that he saw him at Strabogie, the second tour, with the rebells. Depones, that he had no companie, bot that he was a man that had great power with the Badzenoch men. Depones, that when the deponer was coming into St Johnstoun to the Earle of Montrois, he saw twentie or threttie slayne men lying upon the way syde towards the towne of St Johnstoun, all strypit naiked of thair clothes. Depones farther, that efter the fight at Aberdein the deponer saw severall slayne men lying at the entrie of the toune of Aberdein, and within the toune. Depones, that the Earle of Montrois and the Irish rebells caried away to the number of three or four hundreth of the Kingis leidgis, or thairby, whom they tooke captives in the towne of St Johnstoun, and led them away captives with them. Depones, that to the deponers knowledge thair was severall housses spulzeit and robbed be the rebells in the towne of Aberdein efter they took in the same.

William Futhie.

James Arrat.

Johne Cheisholme of Cromlix.

Johne Stewart of Scheirglass.

William Fergussone of Balleheucan.

Angus M^c-Phersone of Innerysie.

Slayne men at Perth.

Slayne men at Aberdein

Prisoners at St Johnstoun.

Depones, that at *the second tour*, when the Earle of Montrois and the rebells crossed Dee northward, the deponer saw the Laird of Gichtis houss brunt, and his lands spulzeit, besyde Aberdein; and depones, that thairefter the deponer saw a barne-yaird perteining to my Lord Fraser brunt. Depones, that thairefter he saw twa stone housses and a barne-yaird perteining to the Laird of Pittodrie, at the foote of Bannachie, brunt and distroyit. Depones, that he hard say that the Laird of Leslie Forbes his hous, callit Leslie, was brunt, bot did not see it himself. Depones, that when the rebells cam throw the Stormonth, at the second tour, the deponer saw the house of laird Blair, and the corne-yaird thairof, brunt. Depones, that he saw the house of little Blair, in the Stormonth, efter it was brunt, bot did not see it burning, and hard say it was brunt be the rebells. And the deponer haveing hard the names of such utheris as he was examined upon, conteanit in the rolls red to him, depones, that he hes seine no uther of those whom he knows, as they ar designit in the rolls, in companie with the Earle of Montrois and the rebells, bot as he hes deponit; and declares the premisses to be of veritie, as he sall answer to God. *Reddens causam scientiæ ut supra.*

Burning of housses and tounes.

Burneing of housses and corne-yairdis.

W. Forrett.
Forrester, I. P. Com.[1]

II.

[*Proclamation by the King's Lieutenant, calling the Lieges to the Standard under pain of Fire and Sword.*]

Theis are ordeaneing all and whatsomevir trew subjectis, that be able for his Majesties service, betwix sextie and sexteen, to repair to our

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest.

Armie, with their best armes, conforme to the commissione given be his Majestie to rais his forces within the Kingdome of Scotland, under the pain of burneing, and slaying of all and whatsoumevir disobedient personns: Be this our ordinance, subscryvit with our hand at Forfar the 9 of September 1644.

MONTROSE.[1]

[*Endorsed*]—Ordours from Montrose.

III.

[*Excommunication of the King's Lieutenant by the Argyle Government, and Proclamation of a Reward for his Head.*]

At Edinburgh the 12 *of September* 1644.

Forsameikle as James Earle of Montrose, having casten off all feare of God, respect and loyaltie to his Native Kingdome, and regard of his Oath in the Covenant, hes most traiterously conspired, so farre as in him lies, the subversion of the true Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdome; and for that purpose did not onely, in the moneth of April last, actually invade this Kingdome with forrane forces, but hes now joyned with ane Band of Irish Rebels and Masse-Priests, who have, thir two years by-gane, bathed themselves in the bloud of God's people in Ireland; and in a traiterous and perfidious maner hes invaded this Kingdome, tane possession of some of the royall burrowes thereof, apprehended, killed, and cruelly murdered divers of his Majesties good subjects; pressing new oaths, contrary to the Covenant, and for establishing of Poperie, threatening all such as refuse the same with present death and unheard of cruelties: And to the effect all his Majes-

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest.

ties good subjects may be aware of him, and use their best endeavours against him, the Committee of Estates ordains Heraulds and Pursevants to passe to the market-crosse of Edinburgh, and other places needfull, and to command, charge, and inhibite all his Majesties subjects, that none of them presume nor take upon hand to reset, supply, intercomon, keep intelligence nor correspondence with the said Earl of Montrose, or any of his associates and complices, nor to furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbery, or any other comfortable thing, under the pain of treason. And the Committee doth hereby declare, in name of this Kingdome, that whoever will take and apprehend the said Earle of Montrose, and exhibit him alive before the Parliament or their Committee, or if he shall happen to be slain in the taking, shall exhibit his head, that every such person shall not only be pardoned for their bygane concurrence in this rebellion, and all other crimes formerly committed by them, not being treasonable, bot also they shall have have the summe of twenty thousand pounds Scots delivered to them in present and ready payment.

Ordered by the Committee of Estates, that this proclamation be forthwith printed and published.

Printed at Edinburgh by Evan Tyler, *Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno Dom.* 1644.[1]

[1] This original printed proclamation, so disgraceful to the usurped and tyrannical government of Argyle, has only recently been discovered in the Montrose charter-chest. It offered a direct incentive to the assassination of Montrose, and was meant as such; nor can it be doubted that the policy emanated from Argyle himself, who had the disposition of a tiger with the heart of a hen. The treacherous murder of Lord Kilpont was unquestionably the fruit of this system; and the murderer himself was immediately received, protected, and publicly exonerated and rewarded by Argyle. The proclamation for Montrose's head is dated on the day of his victory at Aberdeen. The Editor is not aware that another copy of it exists.

IV.

[*James Ramsay of Ogill loquitur.*]

25 *Januarij* 1645. James Ramsay of Ogill, of the aidge of 49 years, maried, being sworne and interrogatt anent thois whom he did see with the Erle Montrois, and in companie with the Irish rebells, Depones, that he came to Montroiss and the Irish rebells upon the Wednesday efter the conflict of Perth, when they wer be-wast the Law of Dundie, and wes caried alongest with thame against his will to Aberdein; and he left thame thair, and came aff upon the morne efter the feight. Depones, that the Erle Montroiss, in the armie with the Irish rebells, did carie himself as ane Commander-in-chieff of that rebellious armie; and that the said Erle did give ordours to the officers of the armie; and that the said Erle wes in actione at the conflict at Aberdein. Depones farther, that he saw lykwayes Allester M'Donald, sone to Coall Kittoch, and that he behavit himself as Generall-Major, and had the nixt place of the rebells armie to the Erle Montroiss; and saw him in the toun of Aberdein, and at the conflict befoir. Depones, he saw Johne Grahame younger of Fintrie come along with the Erle of Airles sones, from Killemure to the bak of the Law of Dundee, to the Erle of Montroiss and the Irish rebells, and did see him at Brechein with thame, and, as he thinks, at Fittercairne, bot never saw him with thame thairefter.

Allester M'Donald.

Fintrie younger.

Depones, he saw the Erle of Arlie with the Irish rebells at Crathes upon Dee, and saw him at the conflict of Aberdein, and his two sones, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvyes also, who all three were upon the feilds in actione the tyme of the conflict, and that he left thame all with the rebells when the deponer came away; and depones, that Sir Thomas and Sir David were at ane privat meitting at the bak of the Law of Dundie with the rebells. Depones, that he saw Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Innerquharitie, and that he came in with the deponer at the

Erle of Airlie.

Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvyes.

Innerquharitie younger.

Law of Dundie to the Irish rebells, and that he saw him, in the morning befor the conflict at Aberdein, in the rebells armie; and that efter the deponer wes come aff the rebells, the said Alexander being returned to Angus with a wound in his thigh, he sent for the deponer to *panss*[1] him, and affirmed to the deponer he had gottin the wound at Aberdein.

James Ferquharsone, sone to Craignitie.

Depones, that he saw James Ferquharsone, sone to Ferquharson of Craignitie, at the conflict at Aberdein, in the feilds, lying hurt, and that the deponer panssit his wounds within the toune of Aberdein, and that he came aff with the deponer.

J. Ramsay off Ogill.
Frendraught, I. P. Com.[2]

[1] That is, to dress his wound, Ramsay probably being a surgeon. Alexander Ogilvy was the son and heir of Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, to whom Argyle wrote the threatening letter printed in vol. i. p. 256. It seems to be nowhere else recorded that he was wounded at the battle of Aberdeen, which, say the town records, was a 'cruel and bloody fight and conflict, fought betwixt the Crabstane and the Justice Mylnes, upon the 13 day of September 1644, betwixt eleven hours before noon and one afternoon.' Young Inverquharity, as appears from some of the other depositions, received his wound in the thigh from a lance. Bishop Guthry, when recording the inhuman execution of this youth, who was taken at Philiphaugh, calls him 'a boy of scarce eighteen years of age, lately come from the schools; and upon that occasion it was, that Mr David Dickson said, "the work goes bonnily on,"—which passed afterwards into a proverb.'—(Mem., p. 208.) Patrick Gordon also says, 'At Glasgow they put to death Innerwharetie, a brave and hopefull young gentleman of eighteine years of age only.'—(Britanes Distemper, p. 167.) The personal beauty of this interesting youth is pointedly referred to by Wishart, and his cruel fate justly attributed to the malevolent feeling of Argyle to the house of Ogilvy.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This deponer further enumerates the following persons as having been with Montrose at the Law of Dundee, viz. 'Johne Carnegy, younger of Balnamone; Mr Williame Hunter of Balgayes; Mr Patrik Guthrie, younger of that ilk; James Ogilvy of Shannallie; Gilbert Ogilvy of Craigis; Johne Ogilvy, younger of Sheillhill; Ogilvy, eldest sone of Johne Ogilvy of Galay; Andro Lindesay of Rotell; Mr Andro Guthrie, brother to the laird Guthrie younger; John Ogilvy, younger of Peill; David Ogilvy of Glaswell; Robert Ferquharson of Ravernie; Johne Ferquharsone,

V.

[*Sir William Forbes of Craigievar loquitur.*]

25 *Januarij* 1645. Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, of the aidge of 32 years or therby, mareit, being sworne and interrogait anent thoiss whome he did see with the Erle Montroiss, Depones, that the day of the conflict at Aberdein, the deponer, being in action and service for the weele of the Estaitts of this Kingdome, he wes taken prisoner upon the feilds be sum of the Irish rebells and thair associatts, and wes deteand prisoner be the space of a month; efter whiche tyme the deponer wes permitted be the rebells to come aff upon his paroill to returne agane, and that the deponer come sua aff at Auldbar; and that a twentie dayes or tharabout therefter, the deponer, for keeping of his paroll, went in agane to the rebells at Strabogy; and having stayed two dayes or therabout, he escaiped, and came aff at Strabogy. Depones, that during the tyme of his abod with the rebellis he did see the Erle of Montroiss with the rebells, in the rebells armie, cary and behave himself as ane Commander-in-chief of that rebellious armie, and did see the said Erle give ordours to severall officers of the said armie; and that he saw the said Erle of Montroiss in actione at the conflict at Aberdein in the rebells armie. Depones, that during the forsaid tyme of the deponers captivitie he saw in the rebells armie Allester M'Donald, sone to Coall Kittoche, behaiff himselff as Generall-Major in the rebells armie severall tymes and in severall places; and in speciall he did see him in the toun of Aberdein efter the conflict. Depones, that at the conflict at Aberdein he saw James Ramsay of Ogill in the feilds

Allester M'Donald.

Ramsay of Ogill.

sone to the said Robert Ferquharsone; James Grahame of Claypotts; Francis Guthrie of Gagie; James Broun of Lackway; Alexander Lyndsay, younger of Pittarly; [Patrick] Wyntoun, younger of Straikmairtein; Robert Fletcher, younger of Ballinscho; Mr Peter Wedderburne, Advocatt; Patrik Wishart [servant to young Inverquharitie]; Mr John Fletcher; John M'Colmy.'

with the rebells. Depones, that he knew not the said James befoir, bot that, the nixt day efter the fight, the said James come to the deponer, and told him that he had been with the rebells, and discovered himself to the deponer, and regraitted to the deponer that he wes circumveaned, and broght on upon that cours unawares, be otheris, and that he wes of intentione to draw himselff aff the rebells so soon as he could; and, for that effect, desyred ane pass from the deponer, and that the deponer never saw him with the rebells therefter. Depones, that he did see the Erle of Airlie with the Erle Montroiss and the rebells at the conflict at Aberdein, ryding on horseback on the feilds: and that, as the deponer wes broght in prisoner to the toun of Aberdein, efter the conflict, he did see the Erle of Airlies two sones, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvyes, with the rebells; and that he did see the said Erle, and his two sones, severall tymes with the rebells and the Erle of Montroiss, and in severall places during the deponers captivitie, and that the said Erle of Airlie and his two sones wer with the rebells when the deponer came aff. Depones, that he did see Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Innerquharitie, with the rebells, at the conflict of Aberdein, in actione upon the feilds, and that the deponer hard that the said Alexander wes hurt at the said conflict, and that the deponer saw him efter in Aberdein with the rebells; and that he came aff, efter the course from Aberdein, about Pittodrie; efter which tyme the deponer did not see him again with the rebells till they came about again to Angus, at which time the deponer saw the said Alexander with the rebells again, efter which tyme the deponer did see him severall times at Strabogy with the rebells, and left him there when the deponer came aff.

Erle of Airlie.

Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvyes.

Innerquharritie younger.

The said Sir Williame Forbes farther depones, that when he wes broght in prisoner to the toun of Aberdein, efter the conflict, that he saw severall of the inhabitants and citizens of the toun lying killed upon the streitts; and that the rebells and thair armie herried the haill cuntrie wharthrow they went, for the most part, and drave away thair

goodis; and that the rebells brunt severall housses, viz., Ardblairs hous, and the hous of Little-blair, and sum housses at Kinloch, in Stormont and Angus, and sum laich housses about Drumkilbo, and ane barne-yaird at the Kirktoun of Essie, or therby, about two myles or therby be-west Glames. And declares the haill premisses to be of veritie, upon his great aith, as he shall answer to God. *Reddens causam scientiæ ut supra,* be reassone of his captivitie.

W. Forbess.
Frendraught, I. P. D. Com.[1]

VI.

[*The Master of Spynie loquitur.*]

Ultimo Januarij 1645. The Master of Spynie, of the aidge of 23 years or therby, mareit, being sworne and interrogatt anent thois whom he did see with the Erle Montroiss and the Irish rebells, and anent the eariage of the said Erle and thois that wer with him while he wes in companie with thame, Depones, that upon the Tuesday efter the fight at Tippermure, the deponer came to the Erle of Montroiss, neir the kirk of Collace,[2] about half a mile be-east the same. Depones, that the

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This deponer also enumerates the individuals whom he saw in company with Montrose; but they are the same as those mentioned in the previous depositions, with the exception of 'Neill Stewart of Foss; William M'Intosh of Strone; Ewin M'Pherson of Cluny; John M'Phersone of Nude; Andro M'Phersone, his sone; Alexander Gordon of Ruthven; and Donald Glass M'Ronald of Keppoche.' Craigievar's 'escape,' as he calls it, was not very creditable to himself, as may be gathered even from his own deposition. Spalding (vol. ii. p. 81) records the incident, in his minute and graphic manner, and the indignation of Montrose at the conduct of a prisoner whom he could easily have secured, had he been disposed to treat him as such, instead of trusting to his honour.

[2] It was while the royal army paused at this place that Lord Kilpont was assassinated by Stewart of Ardvoirlich; and not, as Patrick Gordon erroneously records, at Perth.

deponent went alongis with Montroiss to Brechin, and therefter went aff to Phinevin, and thane went in to the Erle Montroiss at Crathis, with the Erles of Airlie and Kinowle; and that the deponer went alongis with the Erle Montroiss therfra till Aberdein, and from Aberdein to a place callit Littlehead, about six or sevin myles from Kildrummie, at which tyme and place the deponer cam aff from the Erle Montroiss.[1] Depones, that he hard and saw Mr Peter Wedderburne and Mr Johne Fletcher, Advocatts, in discourse with the Erle Montrois, and that the Erle seeing thame in the feilds, sent the deponer to bring thame to speik with him, and that when they wer come, the Erle inquyred of thame the affectioune of the toun-people, and strenth of the toun of Dundee, and that they answered the Erle (Allester M^cDonald being present) that the touns-people wer, for the most part, disaffectionat to the Erle, and that they had taken a covenant to stand to thair defenss, to the last man, and that the toun wes made verie strong, and that ordnances wer planted in dyvers places, especiallie upon Corbiehill. Depones, that immediately efter that discourse, the Erle Montroiss conveined a Counceil of Warr, wher the deponer wes present, wher, in respect of the forsaid discours, it wes concludit that the toun should not be stormed, bot that they should pass by the toun. Depones, that when the deponer went in to Aberdeen, the evening efter the fight, he saw severall of the Kingis liedges, to the number of twentie or threttie, lying slayne upon the streitts. Depones, that the deponer saw the rebells, severalls of them, have of the plunderit and spoulzeit goods, that wer spoulzeit from the touns-folk, bot did not see the spoulzie committed.

[1] The deponer here enumerates the following persons as having been in company with Montrose and his army at this time, viz.:—'Mr Patrik Guthrie; Johne Ogilvy, younger of Sheillhill; Ogilvy, eldest sone to Johne Ogilvy of Galay; Alexander Lindesay, fiar of Letlinet; Andro Lindesay of Rattell; James Ferquharsone, sone to Ferquharsone of Craignytie (at the fight of Aberdeen, and wounded there); Francis Guthrie of Gagie; Patrick Wyntoun, younger of Strickmartein; Robert Fletcher, younger of Ballansho; Mr Peter Wedderburne, and Mr Johne Fletcher, Advocatts; Patrick Wishart in Reidheuch; Williame Arratt, servitour to the Erle of Airlie.'

And this he depones to be of veritie, as he shall answer to God. *Causa scientiæ ut supra.*

A. M. Spinie.
Forrester, I. P. Com.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. The *M*, in the above signature, seems to be for *Master*. Lord Lindsay, in his interesting biographies, says, 'At Perth (after the battle of Tippermuir) Montrose was joined by the gallant Lord Spynie, who, on his return from the German wars, had been confirmed in the office of Mustermaster-General, previously bestowed on him by King Charles. They took Aberdeen on the 14th of September. Montrose set off for the Gordons' country two days afterwards, leaving Lord Spynie in the town. Argyle arrived on the 19th, took him prisoner, and on Saturday the 21st sent him under a guard to Edinburgh.' (Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii. p. 70.) In the same volume (p. 80), this noble author records, 'George, third Lord Spynie, the son of the gallant defender of Stralsund in 1628, and of Argyle's prisoner in 1644.' But I suspect that his Lordship had here lost a link of the family genealogy, to which he has done such infinite justice. The deposition in the text is unquestionably that of *Alexander, Master of Spynie*, who was Argyle's prisoner in 1644. The 'defender of Stralsund in 1628,' sixteen years before, was that Master's father, and it would seem that he survived his son. George, third Lord Spynie, was a younger brother of the Master, Argyle's prisoner.

All these original depositions, only recently discovered in the Montrose Charter-chest, and upon which the forfeitures, which passed against Montrose and his friends early in the year 1645, were founded, evince that he had conducted himself, throughout the fiery progress of his victorious army, with the utmost humanity that a commander, under such circumstances, could possibly exercise. Speaking of the battle of Aberdeen, Guthry says:—'After the battle, Montrose had the town surrendered to him, where he shewed great mercy, both pardoning the people and protecting their goods.'—(Memoirs, p. 168.) It is manifest from the depositions, that he had conducted himself in the same spirit at Perth; and indeed throughout all his campaigns.

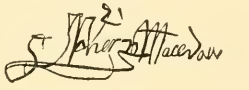
XII. Montrose's Bond to unite the Loyalty of the Highlands against the Power of Argyle, in 1645.

Ane Band of Unione amongst all his Majestie's faithfull and loyall subjects, as also of mutuall assistance and defence.

Wheras his sacred Majestie, for the vindication of his owne honor and just authoritie, and the happines and recoverie of his thralled and oppressed subjects, hes bein from all reasone and necessitie constrained to owne himselfs and their miseries, by declaring, by opin proclamations, the horrid courses of that rebellious factione,—that now so rageth within this kingdome,—to be most wicked and traiterous, as they are most unjust and unnatural; willing and requyring all his Majestie's faithfull and loyall subjects to yield by no means their obedience therto, bot, on the contrarie, to joyne themselfs with Prince Maurice, his Majestie's nephew and Captaine Generall over this wholl Kingdome, or James Marquis of Montrose his Majestie's Liuctennent Generall of the same; and to use all the best and most vigorous oppositione against the actors and instruments of all those abominable and monstruous crimes: Witt ye us, therefor, undersubscryvers, out of the deip sense of our deutie to God, our Consciences, King, and native Countrie, yea to all Lawes and Justice divyne and humane, by these presents to bind and obleige our selfs,—lykas we ar by God and Nature tyed,—with our lyves, fortunes, and estates to stand to the maintenance of the power and authoritie of our sacred and native soverain, contrarie to this present perverse and infamous factione of desperatt Rebells now ine furie against him; and that we shall, upon all occasions, according as we are requyred by his Majestie, or any having his power, or as the opportunitie shall offer, be ever readie to use all our best and most actvie endeavours for that effect: As also each and everie one of us doe faithfullie promeis, mutuallie to assist one another heirin, as we shall be desyred, or the occasione

requyr: All which befor God and his angells we most solemnlie, and from our consciences and just sense, voluntarlie and sincerlie vowe and promeis firmlie till adher to, and never to swerve from, as we would be reputed famous men, and Christians, and expect the blessing of Almightie God in this lyf, or his eternall happines hereafter. In witnes wherof we have subscryvit thir presents at Killiwheimen the penult dayes of January the year of God ane thousand six hundreth fourtie fyve years.

Seafort.
Grahame.
R. Gordone.
Thom. Ogilvy.
P. Campbell of Edinampell.
P. Græme.
Johnne Drummond.
R. Græme.
James Grant of Freuquhye.
S^R^ Robert Gordon.
Alex^R^ Innes.
D. Farcharsone.
J. Grant of Moynes.
J. Kynnard of Coulbine.
James Hunter of Dunphail.
Wm. Gordoun of Orradoull.
J. Gordoun of Letterfurey.
Donalld M^c^Donalld off Keppoch, from the [Loening?]
J. M^c^Phersone.
Alex^R^ Dunbar of Inchbrock.
W. Douglass, Glenbervy.
W. Innes.
Montrose.
Airlie.
G. Gordon.
S^R^ L. M^c^Laine of Dowart.
S^R^ J. Macronnalld of Eyellandtirrem.
A. M^c^Donald, apirand of Glengarrie.
Allexander M^c^Donnell.
Duncane Steuart, fiar of Appen.
Donald Cameronne, Tutor of Locheill.
Nat. Gordon.
G. Gordoun, Knokespock.
Donald Robertsone, Tutor off Strowane.
Wm. Gordoun of Terperse.
A. Gordoune of Terperse, yonger.
A. Ogilvie off Kempkairne.
A. Abercromby.



R. Irwin of Monkdow.
Jo^n. Strachine, Tutor of Thornton
[S^R F.?] Hay.
A^LR Robertsone of Downy.
A. Robertsone, fiar of Downy.
David Moray of Buchantie.
J. Mowatt off Bolquholly.
P. Gordoun off Kirkhill.
A. M'Kenzie of Plufcarden.
Johne Innes off Lewcharis.
A. Gordone of Carnborrow.
Jhon Gordon.
Patrik M'Gregre off that Ilk.
Murich M'Leane of Lochbowye.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This Bond was to unite the loyalty of the North against the power of Argyle. It is dated 'at Killiwheimen,' now Fort-Augustus, immediately before Montrose's descent upon Inverlochy. The blanks in the original were meant to be filled up with other dates and places of signature; for there can be no doubt that many of the names must have been affixed after the battle of Inverlochy. Seaforth, Lord Gordon, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and various others signed the Bond, although they were not present at the battle. Seaforth, at that crisis, was presiding over Committees of the Estates in Elgin, and was one of those who fled at the approach of Montrose. 'The Erll of Seafort, and rest of the Committeemen, fled thair owne wayeis.' (Spalding, vol. ii. p. 298.) 'Upone the 19th Februar,' adds Spalding, 'Montrois cumis in to Elgyne. The Lord Gordoun being in the Bog, lap quiklie on hors, haveing Nathaniell Gordonn, with sum few utheris in his company; and that samen nicht cam to Elgyne, salutit Montrois, who maid him hartlie welcum, and soupis joyfullie togidder.' Seaforth broke his faith, after signing the Bond at Elgin. The most interesting signature is that of 'Grahame,' written in a firm but boyish hand. This was Montrose's eldest son, who, in the month of February 1645, could not have completed his fifteenth year, as his father and mother were married in the month of November 1629. (See vol. i. p. 130.) We have seen (*supra*, p. 157), that immediately after the battle of Tippermuir, Montrose had caused two of his sons to be brought to him at Perth; probably the two eldest, Lord Graham, and James, who became the second Marquis. There was a third son, Robert. See Number XX. The eldest had accompanied his father in this severe campaign, and died at Gordon Castle, not long after the battle of Inverlochy. 'Ye heir how Montrois cumis to the Bog (4th Mareh 1645.) His eldest sone, the Lord Grahame, wes in his company; a proper youth, about 16 [15] yeiris old, and of singular expectatioun. He takis seiknes, deis in the Bog in a few dayis, and is bureit in the Kirk of Bellie, to his fatheris gryt greif.' (Spalding, vol. ii. p. 301.) Many of the above signatures are rudely penned; and that of which a *fac simile* is given, on the preceding page, has baffled all attempts to decypher it.

XIII. Montrose to King Charles I., 3d February 1645.

May it please your sacred Majesty:—The last dispatch I sent your Majesty was by my worthy friend, and your Majesty's brave servant, Sir William Rollock, from Kintore near Aberdeen, dated the 14th of September last;[1] wherein I acquainted your Majesty with the good success of your arms in this kingdom, and of the battles the justice of your cause has won over your obdurate rebel subjects. Since Sir William Rollock went I have traversed all the north of Scotland up to Argyle's country; who durst not stay my coming, or I should have given your Majesty a good account of him ere now. But at last I have met with him, yesterday, to his cost; of which your gracious Majesty be pleased to receive the following particulars.

After I had laid waste the whole country of Argyle, and brought off provisions, for my army, of what could be found, I received information that Argyle was got together with a considerable army, made up chiefly of his own clan, and vassals and tenants, with others of the rebels that joined him, and that he was at Inverlochy, where he expected the Earl of Seaforth, and the sept of the Frasers, to come up to him with all the forces they could get together. Upon this intelligence I departed out of Argyleshire, and marched throw Lorn, Glencow, and Aber, till I came to Lochness, my design being to fall upon Argyle before Seaforth and the Frasers could join him. My march was through inaccessible mountains, where I could have no guides but cow-herds, and they scarce acquainted with a place but six miles from their own habitations. If I had been attacked but with one hundred men in some of these passes, I must have certainly returned back, for it would have been impossible to force my way, most of the passes being so streight that three men could

[1] This despatch has not been recovered; but the allusion to it corroborates Wishart in his statement of the fact.

not march abreast.[1] I was willing to let the world see that Argyle was not the man his Highlandmen believed him to be, and that it was possible to beat him in his own Highlands. The difficultest march of all was over the Lochaber mountains, which we at last surmounted, and came upon the back of the enemy when they least expected us, having cut off some scouts we met about four miles from Inverlochy.[2] Our van came within view of them about five o'clock in the afternoon, and we made a halt till our rear was got up, which could not be done till eight at night. The rebels took the alarm and stood to their arms, as well as we, all night, which was moonlight, and very clear. There were some few skirmishes between the rebels and us all the night, and with no loss on our side but one man. By break of day I ordered my men to be ready to fall on upon the first signal, and I understand since, by the prisoners, the rebels did the same. A little after the sun was up both armies met, and the rebels fought for some time with great bravery, the prime of the Campbells giving the first onset, as men that deserved to fight in a better cause. Our men, having a nobler cause, did wonders, and came immediately to push of pike, and dint of sword, after their first firing. The rebels could not stand it, but, after some resistance at first, began to run, whom we pursued for nine miles together, making a great slaughter, which I would have hindered, if possible, that I might save your Majesty's misled subjects, for well I know your Majesty does not delight in their blood, but in their returning to their duty. There were at least fifteen hundred killed in the battle and the pursuit, among whom there are a great many of the most considerable gentlemen of the name of Campbell, and some of them nearly related to the Earl.[3] I have saved and taken prisoners several of them, that have

[1] Wishart makes the same statement, in his account of the campaign.

[2] This also precisely corroborates Dr Wishart, who says, '*cæsis eorum speculatoribus, hostibus improvisus imminet.*'

[3] It is remarkable that Montrose here does not call Argyle Marquis. This, probably, was a slip of the pen, as he could have no disposition to deny the right to a title conferred by the King himself.

acknowledged to me their fault and lay all the blame on their Chief. Some gentlemen of the Lowlands, that had behaved themselves bravely in the battle, when they saw all lost, fled into the old castle, and, upon their surrender, I have treated them honourably, and taken their parole never to bear arms against your Majesty. [*Here are six or seven lines that, for the honour of some families, are better left out than mentioned.*][1]

We have of your Majesty's army about two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerously. I can hear but of four killed, and one whom I cannot name to your Majesty but with grief of mind, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, a son of the Earl of Airly's, of whom I writ to your Majesty in my last. He is not yet dead, but they say he cannot possibly live, and we give him over for dead.[2] Your Majesty had never a truer servant, nor there never was a braver honester gentleman. For the rest of the particulars of this action, I refer myself to the bearer, Mr Hay, whom your Majesty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.

Now, Sacred Sir, let me humbly intreat your Majesty's pardon if I presume to write you my poor thoughts and opinion about what I heard by a letter I received from my friends in the south, last week, as if your Majesty was entering into a treaty with your rebel Parliament in England. The success of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart, as that news from England is like to break it. And whatever come of me, I will speak my mind freely to your Majesty, for it is not mine, but your Majesty's interest I seek.

When I had the honour of waiting upon your Majesty last, I told you at full length what I fully understood of the designs of your Rebel subjects in both kingdoms, which I had occasion to know as much as any one whatsoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their interest. Your Majesty may remember how much you said you were

[1] Note interpolated by Dr Wellwood. See the note at the conclusion of the letter.

[2] Sir Thomas Ogilvy died a few days after the battle, and was buried by Montrose in Athol.

convinced I was in the right in my opinion of them. I am sure there is nothing fallen out since to make your Majesty change your judgment in all those things I laid before your Majesty at that time. The more your Majesty grants, the more will be asked; and I have too much reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your Majesty a King of straw. I hope the news I have received about a treaty may be a mistake, and the rather that the letter wherewith the Queen was pleased to honour me, dated the 30th of December,[1] mentions no such thing. Yet I know not what to make of the intelligence I received, since it comes from Sir Robert Spotiswood, who writes it with a great regret; and it is no wonder, considering no man living is a more true subject to your Majesty than he. Forgive me, Sacred Sovereign, to tell your Majesty that, in my poor opinion, it is unworthy of a King to treat with Rebel subjects, while they have the sword in their hands. And though God forbid I should stint your Majesty's mercy, yet I must declare the horror I am in when I think of a treaty, while your Majesty and they are in the field with two armies, unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your Majesty's goodness and pardon.

As to the state of affairs in this Kingdom, the bearer will fully inform your Majesty in every particular. And give me leave, with all humility, to assure your Majesty that, through God's blessing, I am in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your Majesty's obedience. And, if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not before the end of this summer I shall be able to come to your Majesty's assistance with a brave army, which, backed with the justice of your Majesty's cause, will make the Rebels in England, as well as in Scotland, feel the just rewards of

[1] This letter has not been recovered. But her Majesty, in a letter to the King, dated from Paris, 6th January 1645, thus alludes to it:—'I have dispatched an express into Scotland, to Montrose, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done.' See the Works of King Charles, vol. i. p. 299, edit. 1766.

Rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduced this country to your Majesty's obedience, and *conquered from Dan to Beersheba,* to say to your Majesty then, as David's General did to his master, '*Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name.*'[1] For in all my actions I aim only at your Majesty's honour and interest, as becomes one that is to his last breath, may it please your Sacred Majesty,—

Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient Subject and Servant,

MONTROSE.

Inverlochy in Lochaber,
February 3d, 1645.[2]

[1] See Introduction to this Part.

[2] This most interesting letter from Montrose to his Sovereign, was printed by Dr Welwood, in the appendix to his Memoirs, 1699, who says that he derived it from a manuscript copy in the hand-writing of the Duke of Richmond; and further he tells us, by a provoking interpolation, that, 'for the honour of some families,' he had *omitted six or seven lines.* It is a great pity that Montrose's letter was thus mutilated. Probably the passage omitted contained complaints against some of the loyalists whose jealousy, of the success and ascendancy of Montrose, induced them to withhold their aid, and to cast every obstacle in his way. In Wodrow's *Analecta,* this notice of the letter occurs:—

'I am told, likewise, by Dougalstoun, who has seen the original letter from the Marquis of Montrose to the King, at Uxbridge treaty, 1644, that the copy published by Dr Welwood, in his Memoirs, is a *vitiated* copy, and does not, in several things, agree with the original in the hands of the family of Montrose. I incline to enquire further, and to get the particulars if I can' (Analecta, vol. iv., p. 301).

Wodrow had seen that the letter was too favourable an illustration (for his purpose) of the character of Montrose, and would fain have destroyed the testimony. This, however, is his only notice of the letter. The most liberal access to the Montrose Archives has not enabled me to discover either the original, or a copy, in possession of the family. Nor has the copy referred to by Dr Welwood yet been traced. But that he had not *vitiated* the letter may be safely asserted. Every sentence of it obviously came from the pen of Montrose; and its whole narrative is verified, in every particular, by contemporary history. Dr Welwood's interpolated note, in reference to what he had omitted, would seem to be the sole ground for the allegation noted by Wodrow.

XIV. Montrose to Gordon of Buckie, 10th March 1645.

Sir,—From the friendly assurances have passed amongst us, and my trust in that, I must by these entreat you be pleased to take the pains to meet me at Inverury on Saturday next, the 16th of this instant, betimes in the morning, for what does very much concern his Majesty's service, the honour and standing of the house of Huntly, and the weals and credit of all who belong to it. Which remitting until meeting, I am

Your affectionate friend,

Montrose.

Pennyburne, 10th March 1645.[1]

XV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 24th March 1645.

John Robertsone,—These ar to will you, immediately after the sight heiroff, to heasten with all your fencible men, on or other with Jhon

[1] Lord Gordon, hitherto controlled by the power of Argyle, whose near connexion with the Gordon family enabled him to keep the young members of it in miserable subjection, joined Montrose immediately after the crowning disgrace and ruin of the chief of the Campbells at Inverlochy. Montrose was now exerting himself to bring the whole house of Huntly to the standard. Gordon Castle, then better known by the name of the Bog of Gight, was at that time stoutly kept against the Covenant by Gordon of Buckie, whom Spalding calls 'an old aged man,' but who in this service displayed the vigour and the fire of youth. The above letter is from the original, in the charter-chest of Lady Bruce of Stenhouse, whose ancestor was Gordon of Buckie. It was written while Montrose's heart must have been aching with the loss of his gallant boy, whose death he had witnessed at the Bog of Gight not many days before. See note to Number XII. This and another letter from Montrose to Gordon of Buckie, which will be found in its order, were communicated, some years ago, to the Editor, by the late Rev^{d}. Mr Taylor, of King's College, Aberdeen, who had omitted to retain in his transcripts the loose orthography of the period.

Stueart off Sheirglass, excepting such as you require for maintening the housse and the prissoners, whose number you wold a littell increase, in respect I have called along Captaine Makdonald with his men; bot that I will remitt unto your aune discretion; as also all other things that may concerne there, unto your caire and diligence. I am

Your assured frende,

MONTROSE.

Brechine, 24th March 1645.

For Jhon Robertsone of Inver,
In the Blair of Atholl.[1]

XVI. MONTROSE TO ROBERTSON OF INVER, 16th April 1645.

JOHN ROBERTSONE,—You shall not fail to send along Wattie Rollock to the armie, with the first convenient occasione you have of ane convoy to come with him; whereanent these shall be to you ane warrand. Subscreybit at Borlick in Strabrane, sixteent of Apryll 1645.

MONTROSE.[2]

[1] Original, in possession of Samuel Simpson, Esq. of the Greaves, Lancaster.

John Robertson of Inver, a younger son of Robertson of Lude, had been appointed by Montrose to the important command of the castle of the Blair of Athol, where he kept his prisoners with all possible care and humanity, for the purpose of effecting exchanges. The laird of Lude, Inver's nephew, was at this time a minor. Stewart of Sheirglass was a proprietor immediately opposite Lude, on the other side of the Garry. See note to next Number.

[2] Original in possession of B. Nightingale, Esq., Clare Cottage, London.

Montrose was now in Strathbrane, westward of Dunkeld, in rapid march to the braes of Balquhidder, to meet Lord Aboyne, who had escaped from Carlisle, and was hastening to join him. See Number XX.

XVII. A Pass from Montrose to a sick Irish Soldier, 26th April 1645.

Whereas the bearer hearof, Donochy of Celly, he being a sick souldier, and is to goe to the Castell of Blar,—These are therfore to will and desir all of his Majesties offisers and loveing subjects whom this may concerne, to suffer the said bearer to passe quietly, without trouble or molestation either in body or goods, he behaveing himselfe as becometh ane deutyfull subject: These are requiereing the keipers of Blar to see the said bearer well used with the rest of the sick souldiers that ar ther. The 26th of Aprill 1645.

Montrose.[1]

[1] Original, in possession of B. Nightingale, Esq.

Events very distressing to Montrose occurred shortly after the death of his eldest son at Gordon Castle, in the beginning of March 1645. Upon the 15th of that month his gallant and favourite ally, Colonel Donald Farquharson, was cruelly slaughtered on the street of Aberdeen, while idly lounging there in a defenceless state with some other Cavaliers, having made an excursion from Montrose's camp in the neighbourhood. This was an exploit of that notorious cavalry officer, Sir John Hurry, who stole a march upon these gallants with a detachment of his dragoons. On the following day these same dragoons, returning through the town of Montrose, there seized Montrose's son James, now Lord Graham, a very young boy, and sent him prisoner along with his tutor to the Castle of Edinburgh. Very shortly afterwards we find Montrose's youngest son, Robert, also in the hands of the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh. See Number XIX. Hurry's head quarters, at this time, was the town of Brechin, and he having made an attempt against the Standard, Montrose drove him from thence to Dundee, prior to the 24th of March, of which date the order, Number XV., is written from Brechin. Upon the 4th of April, after storming Dundee, Montrose, (surprised and nearly overwhelmed by a rapid combination of Generals Baillie and Hurry,) effected his famous fighting retreat into the Grampians. Yet on the 16th of that same month we find him in Strathbrane going to Balquhidder! See Number XVI. He had retraced his steps thus far in order to meet Lord Aboyne, of whose escape intelligence had reached him. About the same time and place he was joined by his nephew, the Master of Napier, who also had made his escape from the durance imposed upon him by the Committee at Edinburgh. See Numbers XX. and XXI.

XVIII. Depositions of the Prisoners Captured by Sir John Hurry in the months of March and April 1645.

I.

Edinburgh, 17 *Aprilis* 1645.
In presens of Sir John Smith, Mr Alexander Belseis, Sir Archibald Campbell, Mr Robert Ferquhar, Commissioners appointed for examining the prisoners.

[*John Shephard loquitur.*]

John Shephard, indweller in Aberdeen, a common post, Depones, about the morn twentie dayes he wes tane be twa tounsmen of Monrois, beside Monrois, after Horrey came from Aberdeen. Depones, he wes in Aberdeen when Horrey wes there; and that young Harthill brought him agains his will from Aberdeen, some twa nights after Horrey came out of Aberdeen, to Glenbervie the first night, and the second night to Fettercarne; and from that to Brechin, where there wes a hous brunt; and from that he stole away to Monrois, where he wes tane. Depones, he wes in Fettercarne toun with Harthill, and some troups of hors, when the place of Fettercarne wes brunt; and depones he wes only three nights in the rebells companie. Depones, he knowes none of thame who come heir with him, but John Gordoun, Rothemayes man, who wes sent in to Dundie be Montrois;[1] and saw him not till he wes putt in the Tolbooth of Dundie with him. Grants he wes a troupper with Harthill; and wes tane in Monrois linkes, as he wes going home efter he stole away. Depones, when Harthill took him on, he said to the deponer he would have him a troupper, or else he sould pistol him.

25th Aprile. The Committee continowes their resolution concerning this man.

[1] Montrose sent him with a summons to the Magistrates; and no answer being returned, he stormed the town. See next deposition.

[*John Gordon loquitur.*]

25th Aprile. Guilty. JOHN GORDOUN, servant to the laird of Rothemay, Depones, that eight dayes before Horrey came to Aberdeen with a partie, or thereby, his master sent him to the Lord Gordoun, to desire him to deale with Montrois for his maisters men as he did with his owne; and the Lord Gordoun, after he had spokin with Montrois, gave order to Rothemay to raise his men; wherupon the deponer wes imployed to raise the men; and accordinglie brought 24 men to Montrois, to Innerourie, where his men wer putt in Captane Innes companie; and the deponer made Lievtennant; and that he came alongs all the way to Dundie with the rebells. Depones, that when he wes lying with the rest of Lord Gordoun's regiment abont Dundie, Montrois came to him being halfe sleeping, and said, 'John, ye must goe in with this paper (quhilk wes folded) to the Magistrates of Dundie': and with boastings forced him to doe the same. Denyes he knew what wes in the paper; and that the Magistrates promised to give him ane answer; and before they could gett the same written Montrois sett upon the toun, wherupon the deponer wes committed to the Tolbuith. Depones, he wes with the rebells in ther whole actiounes, from his entrie at Innerourie till he came to Dundie; howbeit he wes not ane actor.

JOHNE GORDOUNE.

[*Donald M'Gregor loquitur.*]

Continowes. DONALD M'GREGOIR, borne in the claichan beside the heid of Lochow, Depones, he wes foot-boy to Captane Hew M'Dougall, and wes tane be the rebells when his master wes slane at Inverlochie, and hes ever been with them since, being keeped be Livetennent Generall M'Donald as his footman. Depones, he wes tane after the burning of Dundie, about six myles therfra, being carying his maisters hatt, cloke, and a paire of glooves,[1] and that he knowis not the gentlmen who tooke him; and depones he wes brocht alone to Dundie, and none with him.

[1] It was scarcely to have been anticipated that Allaster Macdonnel, especially upon such an occasion, would have a footboy carrying his hat, cloke, and gloves.

[*John M'Allane loquitur.*]

JOHNE M'ALLANE, ane Yrish, borne in the county of Antrim, Depones, he come out of Irland with Alaster M'Donald, and hes ever since beene in his companie, and wes tane the night Dundie wes assaulted. Being interrogat if he knowes Duncan Gilmoure, grants; and that the said Duncan wes in Alaster M'Donalds companie, and wes Livetennent to Captane M'Donald. Guilty.

[*Donald Gilmore loquitur.*]

DONALD GILMORE, borne Yrishman, in the countie of Downe, Depones, he came out of Ireland with Alaster M'Donald, and hes ever beene with him since, and that he wes tane at Monrois; and that he wes a common souldiour in one Captane Stuarts companie, under M'Lauchlans regiment. Depones, he wes tane six dayes before the fight at Dundie, and wes sent be the people of Monrois to Dundie. Depones he cannot write. Guilty.

[*John Dairsie loquitur.*]

JOHNE DAIRSIE, Yrishman, borne in the countie of Meath, Depones, he came over with Alaster M'Donald, and, as he heard, they were all sent over to the Earle of Seafort; and that he hes ever since been with the said Alaster, wherof halfe ane year in the Castell of Ardnamurchan, and since Alester wes last in Ardnamurchan, hes beene with him in all his actiouns. Depones, he wes tane at Monrois eight dayes before the fight at Dundie. Confesses that with his own hand he killed a man at Inverlochie. Guilty.

SIR A. CAMPBELL.
A. BELSCHES.
MR ROBERT FARQUHAR.

II.

Edinburgh, 18 *Aprilis* 1645.
In presens of the Lord Craighall, Sir Archibald Campbell, Toftis,[1] Provcist of Edinburgh, Provest of Aberdein.

[*Angus M'Queen loquitur.*]

Angus M'Quein of Coriobrok being examinat, conforme to the warrand granted be the Comittee of Estaittis, and being interrogatt what wes the occasione of his meitting with James Grhame laitt Erle of Montrois, Declaris, that efter the fight at Innerlochie, James Grhame, being on his way to Ballichastell [*Castle Grant*], come to the deponeris hous of Raikbeg, whair the deponer went out to meitt the said James Grhame, wha come in to the deponeris hous with Allester M'Donald, the Captane of Clanranald, and certane otheris, whair they stayed about ane hour or two and dyned; and Donald Farquharsone,[2] whois sister the deponer mareit, wes lykewayes thair and dyned with thame; and thairefter the said James Grhame desyred the deponer to go with him; quha haveing refuissit, the said James Grhame threatted to burne his hous; whairupon the deponer went with him, and come alonges with him till they come neir Ballachastell. Declairis, that he had with him two, one callit Johne M'Quein, cusin to the deponer, and ane lad that wes ane webster; and that the deponer had ane sword and targe, and ane pistoll, and Johne M'Quein had ane sword and ane targe, and the boy careid the wallat. Declaris, that neir Ballachastell the deponer gatt libertie from James Grhame to returne bak to his owne hous upoun the Satturday, whilk wes two dayes efter the deponer came out of his owne

[1] Alexander Belches of Tofts, member for the county of Berwick, was knighted and made a Lord of Session in 1646.

[2] Donald Farquharson, the pride of Braemar, who was killed in Aberdeen when these prisoners were captured by Hurry.

hous. Lykas, when he gatt libertie, he wes forced to give his great aith that he should returne bak to James Grhame, whilk accordinglie the deponer did upoun the Fryday thairefter, and come to James Grhame bak agane at Elgyne of Murrey. Declaris, that when he come bak from his owne hous to Montroiss, to Elgyne, they wer about fourtie men in companie, wheroff the deponer wes the cheiff man, and that thair wes four of the saidis fourtie men the deponeris owne men, and the haill remanent wer the Erle of Murrayes men, and sex of thame kinsmen to the deponer. Declaris, that of the four men whilk wes the deponeris owne men, two of thame come only away with him from his own hous, and the other two followed him efter he wes gone. Declaris, that he had the charge of the saidis fourtie men till they come to Elgyne, and from thence to Aberdein. Declaris, that he and the fourtie men lay neir Elgyne about eight dayes, and had no interteanment bot what they took from the euntrie people.[1] Declaris, that he was in the rebellis companie from Elgyne till the deponer come to Aberdein, whair the deponer wes takin the same night he come, about eight a clok at night, and in the eftere'en, befoir the deponer spok with Donald Farquharsone his goodbrother, wha had come to Aberdein two dayes befoir the deponer come. Declaris, that that said eftere'en the deponer spok with Colonell Gardyne, and drank with him.

Angus M'Quein.

[*John Douglas loquitur.*]

John Douglas being examinat, and interrogatt when he come first to Montroiss, Declairis, that he has bein with James Grhame, laitt Erle Continowis.

[1] It can scarcely be doubted that this Highland gentleman and his forty thieves had joined Montrose *con amore*, and that the threats afforded a good excuse.

Montroisse, since Candlesmes last, and wes taken with his master, Neill Campbell, whois clairshoche he buir in Atholl, be sum Yrishes sent be the said James Grhame. Declaris, that he hes bein servand to Neill Campbell three or four yearis. Declaris, that his master and he gat libertie from James Grhame to come thair way; whairupoun they come to Aberdein upoun the Thursday befoir Generall Major Horrie came thair. Declairis, that his master nor he never careid armes fra the tyme that they wer takin be the rebellis till the tyme they wer takin be Horrie in Aberdein, and that his masteris armes wer takin from him be the rebellis and never restored, and the deponer never had armes. Declairis he can not wreat.

[*James Low loquitur.*]

James Low, tailycour, being examinat, and interrogatt when he came first to the rebellis, Declairis, that he wes never with Montroiss, nor never boore armes nather in the one syd nor the other, bot being a poore tailzeour boy, came in to Aberdein to seek a maister, whair he wes takin.

[*Thomas Leyes loquitur.*]

Thomas Leyes being examinat, and interrogatt when he came to the rebellis armie first, Declairis, that about ten dayes or thairby befor he wes takin be Generall Major Horrie, at Aberdein, the rebellis did tak his masteris horse (Andro Annan in Elgyne), and that he wes brocht on with thame to waitt upoun the horsse; and that he waitted upoun that horse all that tyme. Deponis, that he never caried armes with the rebellis, bot wes in thair companie from the first tyme of his taking till the Thursday befor he wes takin be Horrey; and that he left the rebellis, and his masteris horse, at Inverrurie, and came that night to Aberdein, to his brother callit Alexander, wha hes bein

three year serving one Petrie Yong in Aberdein. Depones he can not wreat.

[*George Lobane loquitur.*]

George Lobane being examinat, and interrogatt when he come to the rebellis first, Declairis, that being servitour to George Geddes, dwelling in Auchinhuiff, the rebellis come to Auchinhuiff upoun the Thursday befor the deponer wes takin be Horrey, and that the rebellis took away his masteris horsse with thame, and that they commanded the deponer to go with the horsse, whilk the deponer refuissit; whairupoun the rebellis threattned to hang the deponer if he wald not go. Depones, that being thretned, he wes forced to go with thame, and that they went to Kintor all night, and came to Aberdein upoun the morne, being Fryday. Depones, that upon Fryday, at night, Generall Majour Horrie came and took him and his masteris horsse. Denyes that ever he careid armes with the rebellis, or ever wes in thair companie, bot as he hes declared, and declaris he can not wreat.

Craighall.
A. Belsches.
Mr Robert Farquhar.

III.

Edinburgh, 19 Aprill 1645.
In presence of my Lord Craighall, Toftis, Proveist of Edinburgh.

[*Alexander M'Call loquitur.*]

Allexander M'Call, being examinat, and interrogatt anent his first coming to the rebellis, his remayning with thame, and his coming from thame, Declairis, that, he being in the hous of Inverlochie with Stewart of Escok and the rest, when Escok went out of Inverlochie he took Continowis.

the deponer with him to the rebellis camp; and Captane Johne Stewart of Reidbey, knowing the deponer to be a boatwright, wald not suffer the deponer to returne agane, bot keipit him, and sayed that if he refussit to stay, he should cutt the head aff him lyk a dog. Declairis, that he delt with Escok to speak for him, to bring him aff, whilk he referis to Escokis declaratione. Being interrogatt anent the carrabein whilk he took from Livtenant Colonell Cokburnes man, Declairis, that efter the slaughter of young Parbrek, young Parbrekis man gave the deponer the carrabein, whilk the deponer promeised to keip till he mett with old Parbrek. Deponis, that Livtenant Colonell Cokburnes man haveing takin this carrabein, the deponer took it from him, as not being his. Deponis, that this wes before that Captane Johne Stewart threattened the deponer to go with him. Declairis, he come alonges with the rebellis, without armes, till he come to Aberdein, and wes thair takin in Aberdein, without armes. Declairis he can not wreat.

[*Duncan Gilmour loquitur.*]

Ordanis him to be heard, what he can say for his lyf.

Duncan Gilmour, Irischman, borne in the Clanybowis, being examinat, and being interrogatt anent his being with the Irische rebellis, Depones, that he cam out of Irland with Allaster M'Donald, when the rest of the Irisches came out of Ireland; and that he hes bein still in the Rebellis armie fra his first ovircuming till he was teane be Generall Major Horrie in Aberdein; and was at the feild of Tibbermuir, neir Perth, and the conflict at Aberdein, and Innerlochie, and at all thair uthir actiouns; and was in actioun thair.

Doncan Gilmir.

[*Hew M'Vayne loquitur.*]

Ordanis him to be heard.

Hew M'Vayne, Irischman, borne in the countie of Tirone, being examinatt, and being interrogatt anent his being with the Iriche

rebellis, how long he hes bein in thair companie, and what hes bein his cariage with them, Depones, that he is a chirurgian of his calling, and that he cam out of Irland in Capitane Mortimoris cumpanie; and that he was with them at the Castele of Ardnamurchane, and went from thence to the Iyll of Slaitt, and from thence to Athoile, and from Athoile to Perth, and from Perth to Aberdein; and at the conflict at Aberdein, depones he wes sitting on a know-heid, looking on. Depones, when the Irische rebellis was at Inverlochie, he was sent to the Blair of Athoill, to cure sum woundit sojouris. Deponis, he was teane at Aberdein be Generall Major Horrie, when he hade cum in to the toune to buy sum droggis. Depones, that he hes bein with the Irische rebellis evir since they cam out of Irland, except at sum tyme when he was seik. Deponis he cannot wreatt.

[*John M'Murrie loquitur.*]

Johne M'Murrie, a Scottis Hieland man, borne in the Iyll of Mull, being examinatt, and interrogatt whair he cam to the Irische rebellis first, Depones, that twentie dayes befoir Michaelmes last he was cuming to the mercat of Dundie with sum cattell, pairtlie of his awin, and pairtlie of snm of the Clanleanes; sum of the Irische rebellis, and sum of the Athoillmen, took the cattell from him at the brea of Athol; and that they keipit him as prisoner till thair armie cam within twa mylles to Dundie; and thairefter, when the Irische rebellis war about Dundie, the rebellis lousit the matche wherwith he was bund, and sufferit him to walk as a frie prisoner. Depones, that he stole away, being frie, from the rebellis ather at Forfar or at Breichin. Deponis, that he was taken at Forfar, and put in prisone thair be sum townes men of Forfar. Deponis he cannot wreatt. Ordanis him to be heard.

This Johne M'Murrie was examinatt upon the expositioun of Donald Gilmir, Irische prisoner, in audience of Sir Archibald Campbell.

[*Cormak M'Iver loquitur.*]

Continowis this man, and lykwyes Wm. Mortimer.

Cormak M'Iver, borne in the Score in Glenbelg, tennent to Donald M'Donald Glas, being examinatt, and interrogatt, when the Irisch rebellis cam to the Slaitt whair the deponer was, Denyis that evir he was with the rebellis since they cam to Scotland. Depones, that he was taken at Aberdein be Generall Major Horrie, begging throw the cuntrie with twa bairnes. Deponis, he knowis no man in the towne of Aberdein, nor within the Sherreffdome therof.

[*Ninian Stewart loquitur.*]

Niniane Stewart of Escok, of the aidge of 21 yearis, mareit, being deeplie sworne, and examinat, and being interrogatt if to his knowledge Alexander M'Call wes compellit and constrayned to go with the rebellis, or if he went voluntarlie with thame, Declaris, that to his knowledge he wes constrayned to go with thame, being a boat-wright, and they having use for him. Declairis, that he hard Captain Johne Stewart, who wes with the rebellis, say that they had gottin many good men from us, and sum of all tradismen.

N. S. Escoge.
Craighall.
A. Belsches.[1]

[1] Originals, Montrose charter-chest. The marginal notes appear to indicate the disposal of the prisoners, who were in merciless hands. Most of these depositions refer to the exploit of Sir John Hurry (Major-General for the Covenant at this time, under Lieutenant-General Baillie), who surprised Donald Farquharson in Aberdeen upon the 15th of Mareh 1645, and put him to death, capturing, at the same time, these wretched prisoners, who were sent to Edinburgh. See *supra*, p. 182, *note*.

XIX. Orders of the Committee of Estates as to the Custody of Robert Graham, the Youngest Son of Montrose, 19th and 21st April 1645.

I.

At Edinburgh the 19 of Aprile 1645.

The quhilk day David Earle of Southesk compeired in presence of the Committee of Estates, and produced Robert Grahame, sone to the late Earl of Montrois, in obedience of a command given to him be the Committee in the North; and being demanded upon what occasion he mett with Montrois, and what past betwix them, he made a verball declaratioun thereof, quhilk declaratioun the Lords ordainis him to give in writt under his hands on Monday nixt, and exoners him of the exhibitioun of the said Robert Grahame, and his awne appearance, in obedience of the Committee of Brechin.

The Committee ordains the Earle of Southesk to keepe Robert Grahame, sone to the lait Earle of Montrois, till Monday nixt, that he receave farther orders concerning him.

II.

Edinburgh, 21 *Aprilis* 1645.

The Committee of Estats having read the declaratioun givin in this day be the Earle of Southesk, in obedience of the Committees ordinance of the 19 of Aprill, ordains the said declaratioun to be keeped *in retentis* be the clerk, and allowes the said Earle to repaire home for doing his lawfull affaires at his pleasure; and ordains him to returne to the Committee when he sall be required.

The Committee of Estats ordains and allowes the Earle of Southesk to deliver Robert Graham, sone to the late Earle of Montrois, to Carnegie his mother, to be keeped and interteinned be her; and being delivered to his mother, exonners the Earle of Southesk of him.[1]

XX. Deposition before the Committee of Estates of Alexander Herreis, relating to the escape of Aboyne from the Castle of Carlisle, on the 14th of April 1645, to join Montrose.

26 *Aprilis* 1645. In presence of the Lord Burghley, Sir Archibald Campbell, Provest of Kirkcudbrught.

Alexander Herreis, sone to Johne Herreis in Glaisteis, being examinat, and interrogatt if he knowis Alexander Kirkco, and if any conferenee had past betwix thame laittlie, Declairis, that he saw the said Alexander that day that he eome in to the Parliament Hous. Declaris, that thair wes no conference past betwixt thame, bot that he asked the said Alexander how he did, and how the Lady Herreis did, and baid

[1] Original Register of the Committee of Estates, Register-House, Edinburgh. The noblemen who, along with minor representatives of the State, form the sederunt at this inquisition, are 'Casills, Annandaill, Lothian, Lanricke.' The boy must have been very young, as his elder brother James was not twelve years of age when seized by Sir John Hurry in Montrose, upon the 16th of the previous month. Robert is not mentioned by any of the peerage writers. The above, however, not only records him as Montrose's son, but also that his mother was the Marchioness, although her Christian name seems to have been forgotten at the time of writing ont the record, as a blank is left for it. Except a very accidental notice of her death (referred to in a subsequent Number), a few months after the above date, that which occurs in the text, only very recently discovered, is all that the editor has been able to traee relating to the wife of Montrose. It is manifest from the above, however, (and the fact is very singular, considering how the other female relatives of Montrose endured persecution for his sake,) that this lady was in the confidence and good graces of the Committee of Estates, and consequently, not of her husband, the Marquis.

the said Alexander Kirkco tell the Lady that hir husband wes weill, for the deponer had no more directiones to hir. Declairis, that he knew that the Lady Herreis wes in this toun at that tyme. Being interrogatt if Alexander Kirkco askit the deponer any thing, Declairis, he dois not weel remember if he askit the deponer if his master wes in Cairleill or not; bot if it wes thane askit, the deponeris answer wes, that he wes in Carleill. Declairis, he dois not remember if Alexander Kirkco askit the deponer how he came from Carleill, and that no moir past betwix thame. Being interrogatt how long it is since the deponer went out of the cuntrie, Declaris, that it is about three yearis or thairby since he went, and that he had no charge of service of any when he went away, bot that he went in companie with Alexander Herreis, brother to the Lord Herreis, and Gilbert Browne, brother sone to Bakbie. Depones, that efter thair goeing away, they come to the Kinges armie at Shrewsburrie, all three togidder, and stayed thair two yearis, and that they all three entered as reformeiris with the laitt Erle of Crawfoord. Deponis, that he saw Montroisse and Ogillby first at Oxfoord; and that the deponer came doun with Crawfoord and Montroisse to York first, and from thence to Durham, whair thay mett with Newcastellis armie. Declairis, he com in to Drumfreis with Montroisse, and Crawford, Ogilby, Nithisdaill, and Aboyne, and Herreis. Declairis, that Browne, yonger of Bakbie, wes in Dumfreis with the remanent persones forsaidis. Declairis, that Thomas Ogilby, yonger of Powrie, come down out of the south of England, and that they wer all at Morpeth Castell, and South Sheallis,[1] so far as the deponer rememberis. Declairis, that the Lord Ogilby comandit a partie of thriescoir horsse, and wes sent out with the said pairtie from Morpeth aganes sum of Waldounes horsse; and at that tyme one of Waldounes Captanes or Rootmasteris wes killed, named Captain Ogill, and one

[1] The places which Montrose besieged and took from the Covenanters, after his retreat from Dumfries, in April 1644.

Captain Tyrie, for the Scottis, wes killed. Declairis, that the saidis haill noblemen forsaidis were all lykwayes at Sunderland, at the sedge. Declairis, that he come out of Cairleill upoun Monday the fourteenth of Aprill instant, and that thair came in companie with him about fourtein, or thairby, viz., Lord Aboyne; Sir Williame Hay of Dalgetie; George Gordoun, a Captane reformeir; Captain Dicksone, ane Irishman, as the deponer thinkis; Livetenant Leslie, a German sojour; Johne Duncan, servitour to the Lord Aboyne; Thomas Scott, servitour to Nithisdaill; Thomas Halkitt. Knowis non of thair names moir. Declairis, that they came out after day-light falling, about ten a clock at night; and that the deponer knew of Aboynes coming, bot Aboyne knew not of the deponeris coming; and that the sun wes sett befoir the deponer knew of thair coming out. Declairis, that thair come a pairtie of horss, about ane hundreth horss, out to convoy thame, whilk partie convoyed thame throw the water of Edin, about a quarter of a myle from the toun, and thane reteired, and the deponer and the rest come away. Declairis, that no horss did pursew thame, bot they hard shottis all night. Declairis, that they come that night, having riddin all night, to Allin-foot; and that in their way Aboyne fell, and putt his left arme out of lith at the shoulder, and that ane man in Crawford, callit Gibsone (as the deponer thinkis), putt his arme right agane, being sent for to Crawford for that effect.[1] Declairis, that at Allanefoot the deponer sinderit from thame, and, as the deponer thinkis, the rest went to Crawfoord, and the deponer came to Galloway; and, sua far as the deponer knowis, Aboynes intentione wes to go to Montrois. Declairis, that the deponer went to Tareggillis, and thair saw non bot the gardner, callit Johne Millar, and sum other servandis, whair he stayed two nyghtis, and the threid night he come to Kirkcunzeon, to the old Lady Herreis, whair he spok with the

[1] See 'Britane's Distemper,' p. 119, where Patrick Gordon gives a minute account of Aboyne's escape from Carlisle, and the severe accident which happened to him by the way. His narrative is confirmed by the deposition in the text.

Lady, and stayed with hir two nights. Declairis, he had no letteris to the Lady, nor any commissione be word. Being interrogatt whair the deponer intendit to go, having left the rest of the companie, Declaris, his intentiono wes, first to go sie his father, to sie if he could get any moneyes from him, and thairefter to have gone out of the cuntrie. Declaris, he wes of intentione to have sein the young Lady Herreis at Edinburgh, and to have gottin sum money from hir, for taking him out of the cuntrie. Declaris, that while they wer in Cairleill, they hard newis evrie day, bot what way they come knowis not. Declaris, he wes in the toun three quarteris of ane year; and when the deponer came out, thair wes about six or sevin scoir horsse, whilkis wer able to do service. Declaris, that, under Sir Thomas Glamyne, Sir Harie Stridlein is Governour of the Castell. Declaris, anent ammonitione, that he hard they wer weele provydit in the Castell, be reassone that they have not had muche service since the toun wes beliggerit. Declairis, that the toun wes not for the present weele provydit in victuallis; and that about fyve weekis since, or thairby, a strong partie of horse gatt in a mater of threttie nyne beastis, yong and old. Declairis, they have no hay for thair horsses, bot only strae; and that the horse meat is scarce. Declaris, that they hard the report of the Prince his down coming, and that both the Princes wer at Newwark, and that one of them wes gone to Shrewisburrie. Being interrogatt what Scottismen come into Carleill before the deponeris outcoming, and come out agane in companie with thame, Declairis, that, about fourtein dayes befor they come out of Carleill, one Thomas Halkit (a trouper once, as he believes, with Colonell Sibbald) came in to the said toun, and come out of the toun with thame that night they come away; and that it wes reported to him that Montroisse wes strong, and wes ather in Fyff or Angus; and that the deponer spak with the said Thomas, who told the same to the deponer; and that it wes reported in the toun the Marques of Huntlie, Seaforth, and the Lord Gordoun, wes with Montrois. Declaris, he hard not of any defeatt givin be Montrois, befor he come out

of Carleill. Declaris, that he parted with Aboyne at Allin-foot earlie in the morning. Declaris, that it wes Halkit that went to Crawford-toun and broght Gibsone, and that Aboyne gave Gibsone ten dollouris for his paynes in setting his arme ryght. Declaris, that ther is in Carleill the Scottismen following, viz. Nithisdaill; Herreis; Alexander Maxwell, brother to Herreis; Alexander Maxwell, brother to Castalmilk; Major M'Dougall; and some servendis with thame. Declaris, he wes popishlie bredd, and is a Catholick Roman; and wes last confessed at Oxfoord, be ane English man. Declaris, that Nithisdaill hes with him ane preist callit Tyrie, and that the deponer wes once or twaiss at masse with thame in Carleill. Being examinat anent the designatione of his name, being callit '*James Herreis*' in the passe, Declairis, that being of intentione to come away, he went to James Jarden, wha hes ane change-hous neir the churche of Terreggillis, and gatt from him ane pass, whilk the said James had gottin from the minister; he changed the word *Jardane* into *Herreis*, and so maid use of the pass. Declaris, that the night he come from Tareggillis, he come to ane hous in Caetur, and stayed thair that night; whilk hous is about two mylis beyond Biggar; and come the nixt night to Biggar, and stayed two dayes, and wes takin upoun the second day. Declaris, that they had no provisione of victuallis in the toun thir two monthes, bot what com out of the magazen; and that ane Nithisdaill pek of barley wes allowit for eight, in the weik; and about the quantitie of ane pynt of eatt meall allowit lykwyes to thame, in the weik, amangest the eight; and thinkis that thair herring, cheise, and butter, is all spent. Declaris, thair is no aillhous in the toune, and that the souldieris hes about ane chappin of small beir out of the Castell in the day. Declaris, they have houpes of releiff from the Prince.

Alexander Herreis.
Burghly.
Sr A. Campbell.
W. Glendonyng.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest.

XXI. Deposition of Captain James Ogilvy relating to the Escape of the Master of Napier to join Montrose in the Month of April 1645.

Edinburgh, 26 Aprill 1645.
In presens of my Lord Burghley, Sir Archibald Campbell, and Williame Glendoning, Provest of Kirkcudbright.

Captane James Ogilby being examinat, and interrogatt what societie to his knowledge the Master of Naper frequented with, Declaris, that he thinkis he frequented most in companie with Charles and James Alexanderis, soneis to the umquhill Erle of Stirling, and that they went out of toun about eight dayes befor the Masteris escaip. Declaris, he never knew of any places of thair privatt meitting, nor never wes with thame at any privatt meitting himselff. Being inquyred if he hard any thing of the Maister his resolutione to go away, Declairis, he never hard any thing of it; nor never knew, befor the Masteris escaip, of any letteris come to him, nor since; hes never hard of any letteris bot so mutche as he hes heard of his keiper this day. Declairis, that he heard that the Master wes the length of Stirling the night he went away, and four or fyve myles above Stirling, and the nixt night thinkis he wes with Montroiss, bot knowis nocht whair he croced the water. Declaris, he hes nocht heard if any of the Earl Stirlinges sones hes mett with the Master. Declaris, he knawis not of any letteris left be the Master to his father, or any freind; and thinkis nothing hes gon to him since his escape, and that hes not no moir nor what he took with him.

James Ogilbye.
Burghly.
Sr A. Campbell.
W. Glendonyng.

Names of thois who went with the Master of Naper,—
Robert Millar, servitour to the Lord Naper.
Henry Purdie, servitour to the Master.
Andro Naper, servitour to the Master.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. The Master of Napier (afterwards Archibald second Lord Napier) had not completed his twenty-first year, in the month of April 1645, when he escaped to join Montrose. His mother was Lady Margaret Graham. His marriage-contract with Lady Elizabeth Erskine, eldest daughter of John eighth Earl of Mar, was signed by him at Edinburgh, 28th May 1641, and by Lady Elizabeth at Stirling, 13th of June thereafter; and the marriage-settlements were signed by his father, Lord Napier, on the 20th of July 1641, while he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, for 'the Plot,' the witnesses being his own servant, and his jailor, James Lindsay. In a letter, dated 31st May 1646, which will be found in its order among these Memorials, a puritanical relative, alluding to the Master's escape to join his uncle, says, 'Return yet in time before all time be lost, and let the first beginning of your majority in age, evidence better resolutions than did the ending of your minority.' Hence it would appear that the Master of Napier was not more than seventeen years of age at the time of his marriage,—the same age at which Montrose was married.

Bishop Guthry, recording the movements of Montrose at this time, says, 'And so Montrose had a clear passage to the North, accompanied, besides the Lord Aboyne, with another stranger, and this was his nephew Archibald, Master of Napier, a gallant youth both for body and mind. He having, since Montrose went first to the field, been, in company with his noble father the Lord Napier, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, his brother-in-law, under confinement in Holyroodhouse, resolved at length to break loose; and getting safely away, he came to his uncle at Cardross, upon Monday April twenty-first. But his escape procured from the Committee hard measure to his friends whom he left behind; for the Lord Napier his father, and the laird of Keir, were presently made prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh; and not long after, Dame Elizabeth Erskine, daughter to the Earl of Mar, his Lady, and Mrs Lillias Napier, his sister, were sent after them to bear them company, and his other sister, the Lady Keir, confined to Merchiston.' (Memoirs, p. 185.) See Numbers XXIII. and XXIV.

They were afterwards more closely confined, and until released by the Master himself in person, after the battle of Kilsyth.

Margaret Nagel.

XXII. Proceedings of the Committee of Estates against Dame Margaret Napier, Lady Stirling of Keir.

I.

Edinburgh, 9 *Maij* 1645. The Committee of Estateis, finding it expedient that [Dame Margaret] Naper, Ladie Keir, be called for to answer for keeping intelligence and correspondence with James Grahame, sometyme Earle of Montrose, the tyme of his late and present rebellion within the Kingdome, Doe therfore ordane and comand Messingers of Armes to passe and charge the Ladie Keir, personalie if she can be apprehendit, and failzieing therof, at her dwelling place, and be opin proclamation at the mercat croce of the head burghe of the shyre whair she duellis, to compeir personalie before the Committee of Estats at Edinburgh, or whair it sall happin thame to be for the tyme, upon the fyftene day of May instant, to answer for her intercomoning and keeping correspondence with James Grahame, and to heere and sie such farder course tane theranent as the Committee sall thinke fitting; under the paine of rebellion, and putting of hir to the horne, with certificatioun to her if she failzie, letters salbe direct simpliciter to putt hir therto.

Balmerinocht.	Bargany.
A. Hepburne.	Craighall.
Johne Binny.	W. Glendonyng.
	Sr Ja. Stewart.

II.

15 May. The Comittee appoynts the Lord Burley, Craighall, Sir Archibald Campbel, James Stuart, or anie two of thame, to examine the Lady Keir, upon anie questions may arise upon informations given

against her for keeping correspondence with James Grahame, or of her knowlede of her brother's escape.

Lanrick, I. P. D. Com.

III.

Edinburgh, 15 May 1645.
In presens of the Lord Burghley, Lord Craighall, and James Stewart.

Dame Margareit Naper, Lady Keir, being callit and examinat be warrand, and being first intorrogatt if she keepit any correspondence with James Grhame, laitt Erle of Montroiss, or his armie, Declaris, she keepit non. And being interrogatt if she wes in the Keir the tyme when Livtenant Generall Bailye past by, Declairis, she wes thair thane. Being interrogatt when Johne Alexander of Gartmer wes with her Ladyship, Declairis, that he wes at her hous with her Ladyship upon the same Sonday at night that her brother went away. Declairis, that nather Johne Alexander, nor her brother, did acquaynt her with her brotheris goeing away. Being interrogat if she sent any of her freindis or servandis towardis laitt Erle Montrois armie, Declairis, that heiring, of sum of her husbandis tenientis, that thair landis, whiche lyes in the Hielandis, were spoyled, she did send one of her domestick servandis, callit Donald Dun, up to the saidis Hieland rowmes, to sie if it wes so, and if the saidis landis wer spoyled; and that she gave directione to the said Donald to go and ask, of anie of the officiaris of the armie, if her brother the Maister of Naper wer come saiff thair; having hard of his departour the same day befoir nune. Declairis, she did not sie her brother. Declairis, that she gave not any commissione to Donald to desyre a convoy to be sent for the Maisteris saiff convoy; nor sent any letter or ony uther word for that effect. Declairis, that Johne Alexander knew nothing of her sending of the said Donald thair; nather did

she heir the said Johne give the said Donald any directione for staying till the Master of Naper should come up, and sie if he had any word bak agane. Nather did the deponer herselff give any directione to the said Donald for staying to bring bak any answer. Being interrogatt for what caus she wearis murneing weed, Declairis, she patt it on for her cusin german, the laitt Erle of Montrois sone. Declairis, she hes not heard any thing from her brother since his goeing out, nor he from her, except as aforsaid.

MARGARET NAPEIR.

SR JA. STEUART. BURGHLY. CRAIGHALL.[1]

XXIII. MONTROSE TO GORDON OF BUCKIE, 10th May 1645.

LOVING FRIEND,—Having directed some of our wounded men to the Boge, I could not but congratulate our victory yesterday unto you, which by the blessing of God hath been very absolute, as you will learn particularly from those who were present at the battle. So being confident of your constant resolution and fidelity, I remain

Your loving friend,

MONTROSE.

Aulderne, 10th of May 1645.

For my loving friend, the goodman of Buckie.[2]

[1] Originals, Montrose charter-chest. This Lady Stirling of Keir was the eldest daughter of Archibald first Lord Napier, and Lady Margaret Graham. Henee she was Montrose's neice, and cousin-german (as stated in her declaration) to Lord Graham, whose death at Gordon Castle has been already noticed, *supra*, p. 174. It seems very odd that these Inquisitors should have questioned the Lady regarding her dress. Montrose is called 'the late Earl,' because of the forfeiture.

[2] Original, in the charter-chest of Lady Bruce of Stenhouse. See Number XIV. The battle of Aulderne was fought on the day previous to the date of this simple inti-

XXIV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 27th May 1645.

Inver,—I resaved yours, and have directed along ammunitione unto you. You will be cairfull of all that concernes your charge, untill my coming in the cuntrey, whilk I hope shall be shortlie. Also, you will haisten the exchainge of the prisoners, and show Crinnen that I am informed that there is one Master Naper, brother to my Lord Naper, ane prisoner with them, against whom they intend to insist and proceid in ane seiming legall way; which gif they doe, lett him assure them from me, that I will use the lyk severitie against some of ther prisoners; and you will aequaint me with what answere ye shall resave from them theranent. Also, lett me hear from you with diligence all such intelli-

mation of it. Immediately after he had been joined by his young friends, Aboyne and Napier, the Marquis again crossed the Grampians, and brought Hurry to his reckoning at last, utterly destroying his far superior army near Inverness. Strange to say, Seaforth, after having signed Montrose's Bond, in February (Number XII.), was in combination with Hurry, in May, to destroy Montrose at Aulderne; but with difficulty made his escape from the field, all being lost but his life. At this sanguinary battle, the Gordons, under Lords Gordon and Aboyne, greatly distinguished themselves. The conduct of the Master of Napier is also thus particularly recorded by Wishart:—

'In this battell at Alderne, the valour of young Napier did very much discover itself; who, being the son of the Lord Napier of Merchiston, and Montrose's nephew by his sister, had but a little before, without the knowledge of his father or wife, stolen away from Edinburgh to his uncle, and did at this time give an excellent assay of his valour, and laid down most firm principles of a most noble disposition. Whereupon the chief of the Covenanters took his father, a man almost threescore and ten years old (and as good a man as ever Scotland bred in this age), and his wife, the daughter of the Earl of Marr, Sir [George] Sterling [of] Keer, his brother-in-law (an excellent man also), chief of his family, and one that had suffered very much for his loyalty, together with his two sisters, the one Sir Sterling's most virtuous Lady, the other a virgin, and cast them all into the dungeon, from whence afterwards they were to be delivered by Napier himself, with the assistance of his uncle.' (English Edition, printed at the Hague, while Montrose was resident there, in 1648-9.) See Number XXVII.

gence as you can learne from the Border, and concerning Lyndsay. I rest:

You will show Crinnen, that if they will exchainge Master Naper, I shall be content to release another prisoner for him of a lyk qualitie; and lett me have ane speidie and positive answere theranent.

MONTROSE.

Invereshie, 27 May 1645.

You will delyver these inclosed to those you know.

For John Robertsone of Inver,
now at the Castell of Blair.[1]

XXV. MONTROSE TO ROBERTSON OF INVER, 6th June 1645.

INVER,—I have oftymes wreatin to you befor anent the Irishes who stragled to your countrey, and for punishing of them, and it is onlie the neglect of my orders whilk make them so insolent; wherfor thess ar to

[1] Original, in possession of Peter Cunninghame, Esquire, Somerset-House, London. See *infra*, p. 208, as to the John Napier mentioned in this letter. Although Montrose here threatens reprisals, it may be well doubted if he would have been as good as his word. There is not an instance on record of his having behaved even harshly to a prisoner. The Crinnen (or Crinan) referred to, was a Campbell, whose brother was one of Montrose's prisoners, which rendered the hint more significant. The Marquis was now at Invereshie, on the south bank of the Spey, Baillie, with a far superior force, watching him from the north bank, yet unwilling to come to close quarters with the conqueror of his ally, Hurry. Montrose, therefore, very soon after this marched south to Angus, in search of Lord Lindsay (the Covenanting usurper of the Crawford honours), who had been just appointed, with vast preparation and pretension, to a new army. Montrose was anxious to meet him, as the above letter indicates. They were on different terms at St Andrews, on the 9th of May 1629. See vol. i., pp. 122 and 183. He was the brother-in-law of Hamilton, and Lanerick.

will and command you, that, immediatlie efter sight hereof, you persew all such Irishes as can be fund in the countrey, with fyr and sword, and that you burne of the houses of all thess who resett them, as you will answer on the contrarie at your hiest perrell. Subscryvit at Tillochoran, sext of Junij 1645.

MONTROSE.

Resave this sword, and sie it be weill keiped.[1]

XXVI. LORD GLAMIS TO HIS BROTHER, 10th June 1645.

BROTHER,—I think ye receaveit my Lord Argyles letter (it was befor I mett withe hime), quho hes doone all he cane for your relisse, as will testefy by Hery Grame his letter, sent to his brother,[2] and to Inwar, as I sall showe my Lord Montroisse by wrett or word. And my Lord Argyle hertely thanks Inwar for your kyndly usage, and promisses to recompance his good will withe what lyes in his power, as he may be assured, upone continuance of his favor according to his power. For Major Lesley, he hes promised to declair that his reliss was wroght longe befor, by his frinds, that you was sent to him by Montroisse; soe that he hes nothing to doe with it, by my former knowlege. As for Johne Forbes of Large, he was nott taiken in his serwis; soe he will nott

[1] Original, in possession of Lord Mahon. These severe orders evince Montrose's anxiety to protect the country from the disorderly conduct of his wild and insubordinate troops. He was at this time traversing the north of Scotland by forced marches, watching the opportunity of disposing of General Baillie as he had disposed of General Hurry. Yet his mind seems, at the same time, to have been continually occupied with such details as the above letter indicates. The sword mentioned in the postscript was probably a trophy of war.

[2] Harry Graham was a natural son of John fourth Earl of Montrose, and consequently a brother of the Marquis, whom he constantly and faithfully followed.

medell in his reliss. But otherweys, ane man for ane other; according as I have showne his Lordship alredy, and sall yett.

As for Gaske, my Lord hes promised to gett Mr George Wisert relessed for him, according to my Lord Montrose his deseyr. Soe I think, brother, your reliss may be shortly, iff itt plaes God Almighty. If I could goe upone particulars, I think your reliss might have bene alredy. Butt assure your commarads that all sall be, God willing, att one tyme. Soe, remembering my love to all, I rest,

To yowe as myselffe,

GLAMESSE.

Perthe, the 10 Junij 1645.

Ye may receive sum tabaco and pypes; and I ame nott content that [ye] doe nott send to me, seing ye have the Governour his warrand for quhat eles ye want, or long for, that I cane affourd yowe or your frinds ther. Advertisse me with the bearer.

For his Brother and frinds in
Blair Castell, thes.[1]

XXVII. ORDERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES AGAINST THE NEAR RELATIVES OF MONTROSE, DURING THE MONTHS OF APRIL, MAY, JUNE, AND JULY 1645.

I.

EDINBURGH, 21 April 1645. Warrant to the Constabell of the Castell

[1] Original, in possession of Henry T. Holt, Esq., London.

John, second Earl of Kinghorn, Lord Lyon and Glamis, was appointed one of the Committee of Estates in 1644. He was a College companion of Montrose's. See vol. i., p. 121, where (by the way) the Castle of Glamis is inadvertently stated to be in *Fife*, instead of *Forfar*. Dr Wishart was not exchanged in terms of the above letter.

of Edinburgh to receave the Lord Naper, and laird of Keir, within the Castell, and to be answerable for their saif keeping, and to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to convoy them to the Castell.[1]

II.

Edinburgh, 5 May 1645. The Committee of Estats gives power and commissioun to the Earle of Lanrick, the Lord Craighall, and James Stuart, or anie two of them, the Earle of Lanrick being one, to examine Johne Naper, brother to the Lord Naper, his wife and boy taken with them; as also, to call for the Lord Naper, Mistresse of Naper, and the Lord Napers daughter Lilias, Riccartouu, Drummond, or any other they think fitting, and to examine them upon such interrogators as they think expedient, or may arise upon the papers and letters tane with Johne Naper, and to report.[2]

III.

7 May 1645. A warrant for committing the Maister of Naper's Lady, and his sister, closse prisonners in the Castell, with the benefit of a serving maid.

[1] They were so treated because of the Master of Napier's escape to join Montrose. See Number XXI.

[2] This was John Napier of Easter Torrie, eldest son of the Inventor of Logarithms, and of Agnes Chisholme of Cromlix, his second spouse. Lord Napier was the only son of the Philosopher and his first spouse, Elizabeth Stirling of Keir. Two children of the above mentioned John Napier and his spouse, *Mary Foulis*, are entered in the Edinburgh Register of baptisms, viz.:— John, 9th April 1615; Anna, 26th May 1616. It would appear, however, that he had married a second time, prior to the date of the above order, and that the name of his second spouse was *Sarah Napier*. See Article XI. of this Number.

IV.

At Edinburgh, the 9 of May 1645. A warrant to enter the Lady Keir to compeir the 15 of this instant, to answer upon her correspondence with James Grahame.

V.

At Edinburgh, 16 of May 1645. The Committee of Estats ordainis and commands Dame Margaret Naper, Ladie Keir, to keepe confynement within her owne lodging, and not to goe furth thereof but by warrant of the Committee, as she will be answerable on her obedience.[1]

VI.

At Edinburgh, 22 May 1645. The Committee of Estats having heard the desire of Dame Margaret Naper, Lady Keir, that she might be enlarged of her confynment, in regard of the infectioun in and about Edinburgh, Ordains her to remove to Merchistoun, and to stay and keep confynment within the hous and yairds therof, untill she be released be the Committee; as she will be answerable.

VII.

23 May 1645. The Committee of Estats allowes the Constable of

[1] See Number XXII.

the Castell to give Dame Elizabeth Areskine, and Maistresse Lilias Naper, the benefit of the air once or twice in the day, proveiding he be with them; and that none have accesse or speech with them without warrant; and that, when they goe out, the Lord Naper, and laird of Keir, be keeped closse in their chambers.[1]

IX.

Edinburgh, 27 Maij 1645. The Committee of Estaits ordains and commands the Constable of the Castell of Edinburgh to putt the Lord Naper to liberty, he paying the penaltie of ten thousand punds Scots, conteaned in the decreit agains him, as cautioner for his sone, and acting himself to keepe his former confynment, and appear when he sall be called, under the paine of fourtie thousand merks.

X.

At Sterline, the 6 Junij 1645. A warrant to the Constable of the Castell of Edinburgh to committ the Lord Naper, and laird of Keir, to severall closse prissouns; allowing either of them a servant; and that none have accesse or conference with them, but by speciall warrant of the Committee.

[1] 'Maistresse Lilias Naper' was the youngest daughter of Archibald first Lord Napier, and unmarried. She was born upon the 15th December 1626, and consequently, at the time of this persecution, was only eighteen. Her sister-in-law, and fellow-sufferer, Lady Elizabeth Erskine, Mistress of Naper, was she who, a few years afterwards, procured, at the risk of her life, the heart of Montrose (secretly carried off, on the night after his execution, from under the gallows where his dismembered body was buried), and had it embalmed, and preserved in a gold casket.

XI.

Stirling, 13 Junij 1645. The Committee of Estats ordains the Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh to deliver Johne Naper, prisonner in their Tolbuith, to Sir Archibald Campbell, to be disposed on be him as he sall think fitt; wheranent these sall be their warrant.[1]

XII.

Lithgow, 20th Junij 1645. The Committee of Estaits allowes the Ladie Keir to come to Lithgow, and freeth her of her former restraint, the laird of Rickartoun acting himself, that she shall come to Lithgow betwix and Tuesday nixt; and that she sall nott goe out of her hous in Lithgow, *except to kirk*, without warrant of the Committee, under the paine of ten thousand punds; whilk the said laird being present accordingly did.

XIII.

Lithgow, 25 Junij 1645. The Committee of Estats allows the Earle of Lithgow to give to the laird of Keir libertie to walk with the Constable on the head of the tour of Blackness, for the benefit of the air.[2]

XIV.

At Lithgow, 2 Julij 1645. The Committee of Estats ordains the Earle of Lithgow to grant libertie of a free prisonner to the laird of

[1] Probably this is the same John Napier to whom Article II. refers. If so, however, he was still a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, so late as 13th December 1646, as will be found noted *infra*.

[2] The laird of Keir had been sent from the Castle of Edinburgh to the Castle of Blackness, and confined under the custody of the Earl of Linlithgow. He was released by the Master of Napier after the battle of Kilsyth. See next Number, and the Parliamentary proceedings, Number XXXI.

Keir, in the Castle of Blackness, and to come furth of the Castell to take the air once in the day, within the accustomed bounds of the Castell, the Constable being with him; and relieves him of his former closse confinement, the said laird finding caution not to escape, under the paine of twentie thousand punds.[1]

XXVIII. Lord Napier to Lord Balmerino, 3d June 1645.

My Lord,—In regard of your Lordships frendly expressions toward me,[2] in the hearing of this gentleman, the Laird of Lamerton, (of which I shall ever be most sensible) I cannot but compleane to you, in private, of the hard measure both I and myne do suffer; beyond my fears, or other men's hopes. Upon all occasions, to be fyned, confyned, and imprissoned; my houses and lands plundered; my tenents beggared! As for my penalty, I confess it is due by my sone's escape, and I was ready to give satisfaction for it. But to be clapt up in prisson, and be that meanes brandit with a mark of infamy, as a malefactor, or enymie to my Countrie, and exposed to the bad conceat and obloquie of the whole nation, I conceave is a punishment greater be many degrees then the penalty: For it was a wound to my honour and reputation, which men of honour prefer to lyf or fortune. And yet, my lord, I must not speak of conditions, or *capitulate* with the Estates. Indeed, if I wer a

[1] Original Register of the Committee of Estates, Register-House, Edinburgh. There are several volumes of this Register preserved in the Register-House. They have been little explored, although they contain many minute and curious particulars of these miserable times in Scotland. The Register seems to have been imperfectly kept, and some very provoking blanks occur. The noblemen who most frequently form the sederunts, are Argyle, Lanrick, Crawford, Balmerino, Burgly, Lothian, Cassils, Lauderdail, Cowper, Glencairn, Bargeny, aided by the legal learning of Craighall, the Lord Advocate's eldest son.

[2] Lord Balmerino, although president of the Committees from which emanated the persecution of Lord Napier and his family, was ashamed of their conduct to this venerable and blameless nobleman.

delinquent, I could plead nothing but mercy and favour. But not being so, all Princes and States allow particulars [*i. e.* parties], in maters of justice, to speak reason, and to *demand* conditions, in respective terms; and never thought it a derogation to ther majesty, or a blemish to ther honour; and to defend their innocency; without submitting to pleasure, which, in cases of justice, to do, or accept, represents arbitrary government, which we all condemn so much, and that justly. Neither ought I to be put in this condition for reasons of state,—upon fear I might have joined with the enemie. For what benefitt can the enemie get (if I wer so foolish) be my company, being ould and not fitt for fighting; nor yet for counsell, having no skill nor experience in warlik bissines? Or what prejudice wer it to the States, instead of one man, of whom they could mak no use, to have his estate to maintain twenty, every one better able to do them service than he. Not-the-les of all this expostulation with your Lordship, as my noble frend, I am most willing to gif the Estates satisfaction, efter the reasonable petition of my sone-in-law, and my daughters, resaveth a favourable answer. For without them I value not my liberty, and therfoir desireth to be spared till then; at which time I shall give satisfaction for my fyne, upon your Lordships assurence in honour, under your hand, that I sall be transported to the place assigned to them, being a place free from apparent danger of the plague; and that I may have liberty to go to my lands be-west the brig of Sterling, to gif order for labouring and possessing of them, after all this spoyle, and to return to the place of confynement again (if ye sall not be pleased to grant full liberty) under the same penaltie I was confined before.

3 June. [1645.]

[Endorsed] *Copia vera* of a letter to my Lord Balmerino.[1]

[1] Original draft, in Lord Napier's autograph, Napier charter-chest. This affecting appeal was not successful. The Laird of Lammerton mentioned in the letter was John Rentoun, at that time Constable of Edinburgh Castle. See Number XXXI.

XXIX. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 6th July 1645.

Jhone,—These ar to showe ye that I mervaile much that I doe not heare more frequently from you, both concerning the prysners, and other things from your place. Therefor these are to will you that ye be more frequent in relating to me what is done concerning the enlargment of the prysners, and such other things as is requirit that I be acquanted with. Which hoping ye shall doe, I rest

Your loving frend,

Montrose.

Craigtoune, the 6 of July 1645.

Ye will hasten to give particular notice and intelligence through all the countrie of the last happie victorie.

For Johne Robertsonne of Invare, in the Castle of Blair in Athole.[1]

[1] Original, in the possession of H. B. Ray, Esq., London. The postscript refers to the battle of Alford 2d July 1645. Patrick Gordon thus records the victory, and the sad event, and irreparable loss, with which it was clouded. 'Baillie, his army being the greater number, was, after a long dispute, at length totally overthrown, leaving sixteen hundred of their best men dead upon the place. But, alas! what were all those in comparison of that noble and magnanimous youth, that heavenly dazzling spark of true nobility, that miracle of men, the matchless Lord Gordon, who was there slain, after he had totally defeated and routed Balcarres; being shot by one behind him, when he had advanced too far among his flying enemies.'—(Britaine's Distemper, p. 131.) He adds this curious and graphic account of this young nobleman's admiration for Montrose:—

'The Marquis of Montrose himself, with all, or at least the greater part of the army, did accompany the corpse to the interment. Nor did he forbear to show himself the chief mourner; and, indeed, there was reason for it; for never two of so short acquaintance did ever love more dearly. There seemed to be a harmonious sym-

XXX. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 3d August 1645.

Orders for John Robertsone of Inver.

These are to will and command you that immediatlie efter sight hereof you resave Captane Mortimer within the Castell of Blair, and keip him closse, whereanent these shall be to you ane warrand; as you will answere on the contrarie at your hiest perrell. Given at our leager at Little Dunkeld, the third of August 1645.

Montrose.[1]

pathy in their natural disposition, so much were they delighted in a mutual conversation: And in this the Lord Gordon [seemed] to go beyond the limits which nature had allowed for his carriage in civil conversation; so real was his affection, and so great the estimation he had of the other, that when they fell into any familiar discourse, it was often remarked that the ordinary air of his countenance was changed, from a serious listening to a certain ravishment or admiration of the other's witty expressions: And he was often heard in public to speak sincerely, and confirm it with oaths, that if the fortune of the present war should prove at any time so dismal, as Montrose for safety should be forced to fly unto the mountains, without any army, or any one to assist him, he would live with him like an outlaw, and would prove as faithful a consort to drive away his malour, as he was then a helper to the advancement of his fortune.'—(Brit. Dist., p. 134.)

[1] Original, in possession of Henry F. Holt, Esq., London. There was a Captain Mortimer in Montrose's own army, who came with the levies from Ireland. But I cannot find that he was otherwise than in high favour with Montrose to the end. Patrick Gordon (Brit. Dist. p. 65) says that he was a Scotchman, and one of Allaster Macdonnel's captains, when he first landed at Ardnamurchan. He seems to have been employed in all confidential missions, and dangerous services. He led the Irish at the battle of Aberdeen. He did good service with Montrose even after the defeat at Philiphaugh, and was taken prisoner by Middleton in 1646. The above order probably refers to another of the same name.

XXXI. Parliamentary Proceedings relating to Montrose's Family, in the Months of July and August 1645.

I.

30th July 1645. Act for liberatione of Archibald Lord Naper.

The Estates of Parliament, now conveened in the fourt Sessione of this first trienniall Parliament, be vertue of the last Parliament halden be his Majestie and three Estates, in *Anno* 1641, having taken to their consideratione the desyre of an supplieatione given in to them be Archibald Lord Naper, makand mentione, that where, he hes remained prisoner within the Castell of Edinburgh thir many weekes bygone, wherof a long seasone in closs waird, non haveing access to him, expecting alwayes that orders should have been given be the saides Estates for his releasement; wherthrow he is not only in great hazard of his lyfe, throw the infectione of the plaig of pestilence,—the seiknes being now come within the boundes of the said Castell, wherof sex persones are allreddie dead, as ane missive letter written be the Constable of the said Castell will testifie,—bot lykewayes makes him altogidder unable to performe that which the saides Estates hes ordained anent the payment of the soume incurred be him throw his sones escaip: And thairfore, humbly desyring that thair Honours would be pleased to take the premisses to thair consideration, and give warrand for his releasement furth of the said Castell, in tyme of so great danger, and putt him to libertie, wherthrow he may not only be safe and free from the said infectione, bot lykewayes the more able to use all meanes to further the payment of that soume incurred be him throw his sones escaip: And if need be, he is content ather to enact him selfe, or find cautione to answer to the said Parliament or Committie of Estates, when he should be callit:

Quhilke supplicatione, togidder with ane letter directed to the saides Estates be Johne Rentoun of Lammertoun, Constabell of the Castell of Edinburgh, shewing that there is infectione within the said Castell where the said supplicant is incarcerat, being heard and considdered be the saides Estates of Parliament, the saides Estates hes ordered, and ordeanes the said Archibald Lord Naper, supplicant, to be putt to libertie furth of the said Castell of Edinburgh, where he presently remanes, for whoise libertie thir presents shall be to the Constabell of the said Castell ane sufficient warrand: And ordeanes the said Lord Naper, immediatlie efter his removall furth of the said Castell of Edinburgh, to pass and remane, ather within the toun of Haddingtoun, or within a myle about the same, or to remayne in his owne house of Merchestoun, or within a myle about the same, in the said Lord Naper his optione; to the which places, limited as said is, or ather of them, in the said Lord Napers optione, the saides Estates of Parliament hes confyned him; and ordeanes him to find good and sufficient cautione to remayne within the said boundes of his confynement till further order be given be the Parliament or Committie of Estates, under the pane of fourtie thousand merkes Scottes; conforme wherunto, and for obedience thairof, Johne Lord Erskine became acted and obleist himselfe, as cautioner for the said Lord Naper, to the effect and under the pane above specified.[1]

[1] But Lord Napier (though perfectly blameless, even as under the usurping Government) was still a prisoner at the time of the battle of Kilsyth. The Argyle faction, which then ruled and degraded Scotland, took his fine, and yet detained his person. In the Napier charter-chest the following receipt is still preserved:—'I, Archibald Sydserff, depute to Mr Adam Hepburne of Humbie, grant me, by thir presents, to have received from Archibald Lord Naper, the sum of ten thousand pounds Scots money, incurred by him as cautioner for his son, for breaking of his confinement. In witness wherof, I have written and subscribed these presents, at Perth, the sixth day of August 1645. Archibald Sydserf.'

II.

Act for liberatione of the Mistres of Naper.

The Estates of Parliament, &c., Haveing taken to thair consideratione the desyre of ane supplicatione given in to them be Lady Eleizabeth Erskene, Mistres of Naper, and Mistres Lilias Naper, doughter to the Lord Naper, makand mentione, That where, it heath pleased the Committie of Estates to committ them to waird within the Castell of Edinburgh, where they have remayned in close prisone, non having access to them; and now, since the infectione of the plaig of pestilence is not onlie come to a great height within the citie of Edinburgh, bot lykewayes is now come within the boundes of the said Castell itselfe, wherthrow sex persones are allreddie decesit, as the Constables letter will more cleerlie informe your Lordships, *which now hath added great fear to thair former comfortles estaites:* And thairfor humblie desyreing that thair Honours would be pleased to release them from the said present condition of imprisonement, and put them to libertie, now in such a fearfull exigence; and, if need beis, they are content to find cautione to compeir before your Lordships, or the Committie of Estates, or any other Judicatorie, whensoever they shall be callit, as the said supplicatione at mair length beires: Quhilk supplicatione, merits therof, with ane letter directed to the saides Estates, be Johne Rentoun of Lammerton, Constabell of the Castell of Edinburgh, sheweing that there is infectione within the said Castell, where the supplicants is incarcerat, being heard and considdered be the saides Estates of Parliament, they have ordeaned, and ordeanes, the said Lady Eleizabeth Erskene, Mistres of Naper, and Mistres Lilias Naper, supplicants foirsaides, to be putt to libertie furth of the said Castell of Edinburgh, where they presentlie remayne; for whoise liberatione thir presents shall be to the Constable of the Castell of Edinburgh sufficient warrand: And ordeanes them,

immediatlie efter thair removeall from the said Castell of Edinburgh, to pass and remayne in famelie with Johne Erle of Marr, to the which place the saides Estates hes confyned them; and hes ordeaned, and ordeanes them, and ather of them, to find cautione to remayne within the boundes of thair confynement, or within a myle about the same, under the pane of twentie thousand merkes Scots, for everie ane of them that shall happen to contravene: Conforme thairto, and for obedience thairof, Johne Erle of Mar, and John Lord Erskene his sone, became acted, and obleist themselves as cautioners to the effect above-written, and under the pane above specifeit, be thair band subscryved and extended.

III.

7th August 1645. Ordinance for Liberatione of James Grahame.

Anent the Supplicatione given in to the Estates of Parliament, &c., whereof the tennour followeth:

'Unto the honorable Estates of Parliament, humblie sheweth your servitour, James Grahame, sone to James Grahame some tyme Erle of Montrose, That wher, it is not unknowne to your Lordships in what evident danger I live in the Castell of Edinburghe, be reasone of the pestilence which now rageth thair and haill toun, wherof many are deade within the same house, and I being obnox to this hazard, *my noneage doeth cry to your noble clemency,* and humbly begs that your Lordships in your wisdomes would provyde for my delyverie from this imminent danger, and cause transportatione to some place of securitie, and your Honours answer humblie I beseeke': As the supplicatione beires: Quhilk supplicatione being red in audience of Parliament, and the samen, with the desyre therof, heard and considdered be them, The

saides Estates of Parliament ordeanes the said James Grahame, supplicant, to be delyvered to the Erle of Dallhousie, to be educat; the Lord Carnagie being cautione for his good carriage and behaviour, under the pane of fourtie thousand punds.[1]

IV.

Act for the Enlargement of the Laird of Keir.

Anent the Supplicatione given in to the Estates of Parliament, &c., whereof the tennour followeth:

'My Lords, and others Commissioners of the High Court of Parliament, unto your Lordships humblie meanes and shewes your Lordships servitour, Sir George Stirling of Keir, knight, That where, I have remayned in prisone, pairtlie within the Castell of Edinburgh, and partlie within the Castell of Blackness, since Aprile last, wherof be the space of a moneth in close prisone, throw which long imprisonment I am not only lyke to suffer prejudice in my health, but lykewayes my

[1] Yet it would seem that Lord Graham was not released in terms of this deliverance. In the translation (by Montrose's friend, Thomas Sydserf, a son of the Bishop of Galloway) of a French work, entitled 'Entertainments of the Course, &c., rendered into English by Thomas Saint Serf, gent.; London, 1658,' the translator uses these expressions in his dedication to this very Lord Graham, Montrose's son, the second Marquis:—

'The soul of the great Montrose lives eminently in his son, which began early to show its vigour, when your Lordship, *then not full twelve years old, was close prisoner, after the battle of Kilsyth, in Edinburgh Castle*, from whence you nobly refused *to be exchanged*, lest you should cost your great father the benefit of a prisoner; wherein he gladly met your resolution, both so conspiring to this glorious action that neither out-did the other, though all the world besides.'

As this is addressed to the young Marquis himself, the accuracy of the statement cannot be doubted.

effaires and estate are in great disorder, be reason of my long absence: In respect of which prejudice, my humble desyre is to your Honours that your Lordships would allow me freedome, that I may repair to suche places of the countrie as I have any fortune in; or at leist that your Lordships would confyne me and my wyffe within the toun of Linlithgow, and thrie or four myles about the same, to the effect that we may the better get our affaires and bussines managed, and have the benefit of the air for our health, and be the more able to concurre in all publick conclusions for the well and saiftie of the cuntrie. Wheranent your Lordships answer humble we entreat': As the said supplicatione at mair length beires: Quhilks supplicatione being red and considdered be the saides Estates, the saids Estates of Parliament hes permitted, and be thir presents permitts and gives libertie to the said Sir George Stirling of Keir, supplicant foirsaid, to pass and repair to the burgh of Linlithgow, and to meitt and converse with his Lady at all occasiones, and ordeans the caution formerlie fund be him for keeping the bunds of his former confynement to stand still obleidged under the said pane, and the Act to be of full force aganes them to make them lyable in payment of the soumes of money therin conteyned; in caise the said Sir George shall happen to pass without the limittes of the boundis now permitted to him.[1]

[1] Original MS. Record of the usurping Parliament in Scotland, Register-House, Edinburgh. These acts were passed at the time when the Scottish Parliament, in a deeply degraded state, was under great alarm at the near approach of Montrose, immediately before the battle of Kilsyth. But having at length collected a great army, under many noble leaders, (all destined to be disgraced,) it would seem that the tyrannical proceedings against those nearest and dearest to Montrose had not been relinquished before the battle of Kilsyth. Both Wishart and Guthry expressly mention that Lord Napier, his daughter Lilias, Sir George Stirling of Keir, his Lady, and the Mistress of Napier, were only released from prison in Linlithgow by the Master of Napier after the battle of Kilsyth. As for the eldest son of Montrose, he too was still a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh after that victory. See note to Article III. of this Number.

XXXII. Montrose to the Town of Glasgow, immediately after the Battle of Kilsyth 15th August 1645.

Assured Friends,—Being to repair to these feilds, these are to call and require you [that] immediately after sight hereof, you command all the people of your town not to depart from their own dwellings, but to remain in their own houses, and that they make ready all sort of provisions for passing of the Army; which giff they do, they shall be assured to be protected as good and loyal subjects; but giff they do otherwayes, they shall oblige us to proceed against them as rebels and enemies to his Majesties service. Thus expecting your care and diligence herein, I rest

Your assured friend,

Montrose.[1]

[1] This letter is from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library, autograph of Mr George Crawfurd, the Peerage-writer, being a transcript, or rather an extract, of certain historical Memoirs by one James Burns, who was a bailie of Glasgow at the time of the battle of Kilsyth. Of the original manuscript, by this Burns, and of the chronicler himself, nothing further has been discovered. Crawfurd thus introduces the above letter:—

'The 15th August 1645, was the battle of Kilsyth. The author [Burns] observes, that after the victory, the Marquess, knowing there was no army in the kingdom to oppose him, yet such was his care to stop the effusion of blood, that he offered his letters of protection to all that would submit themselves to the King, as deutifull subjects. The Marquess wrote a letter from the Camp immediately after the victory, to the City of Glasgow: a copy here follows,'—viz. that in the text.

Mr Maidment has printed this MS. of Crawfurd's in his 'Historical Fragments,' 1833. This fragment contains the only notice, hitherto discovered, of the death of Lady Magdalene Carnegie, Marchioness of Montrose. Yet Sir James Balfour, who so particularly records Montrose, affords a tolerably full obituary of the nobility of the period. Neither has Wishart, (still more extraordinary) nor Guthry, alluded to her. Crawford, however, thus extracts from the lost journal: 'In *November* 1645, Montroses Ladie died. He came and burried her at Montrose, and was pursued back again,—meaning to the Highlands [adds Crawfurd]—by Lieutenant General Middleton.' See *supra*, p. 194, *Note*.

James Marquis of Montrose his Majestyes Lieu
tenent Generall of the Kingdome of Scotland &

These Ar to will & command you presentlie after sight hereof
to take along with you Two hundreth Horsemen and Two hundreth
dragoones, and repaire to the towne of Linlithgow and causs
publisse one declaratione [illegible] the inclosit crosse thereof, and
Copies of the same to be sped & dreughted in the Countie, As
also you Causs publisse and Sd Majesties Instructions of the
Parliament at the said mercat crosse after the ordinarie hour
hornsmen manes And leave Copies of both upon the said mercat
crosse, Lykeways you shall desire alsmy the Provost of Dumbertane
with one Commissione to the Magistrats of Dumbertane,
and desire yourselfe about the said towne of Linlithgow, or Bonne
Leat and Edinburgh, keeping your selfe free of all plaited suspect
to be severed with the Instructions, as you will answer on the contrare
at your perrill perrill, and saving thereto these presents ordes you
shall returne with all possible diligence to the Kinge wher it shall
happen the same to be sein by him. Given at our Leager at Dofgnott
the twentie day of August 1645

Ordors for the Master of Naper
and Colonell Nathaniel Gordone

XXXIII. Orders from Montrose, after the Battle of Kilsyth, to Proclaim a Parliament at Linlithgow, and Summon the Town of Edinburgh, 20th August 1645.

James Marquis of Montrose, his Majesties Lieutenant Generall of the Kingdom of Scotland.

These be to will and command you, presentlie efter sight hereof, to tak along with you ane hundreth horsemen, and ane hundreth dragounes, and repare to the toune of Linlithgow, and cause publish one declaratione at the mercat-crosse therof, and copies of the same to be spred and divulged in the Countrey: As also you shall cause publish this his Majesties Indictione of ane Parliament at the said mercat-crosse, efter the ordinarie and accustomed maner; and leave copies of both upon the said mercat-crosse. Likwayes you shall direct along ane trumpet or drume, with ane commissione to the magistrats of the brugh of Edinbrugh, and draw yourselfs about the said toune of Linlithgow, or betwix that and Edinbrugh, keiping yourselfs frie of all places suspect to be spoyled with the Infectione, as you will answer on the contrarie at your hiest perrell. And having execut these former ordors, you shall returne with all possible diligence to the Armie, wher it shall happen the same to be for the tym. Given at our Leager at Bothwell, the twentie day of August 1645.

Montrose.

Ordors for the Master of Naper, and Colonell Nathaniel Gordone.[1]

[1] Original, Napier charter-chest. This was a happy mission for the Master of Napier. From the prison of Linlithgow he released his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached, his venerable father, his two sisters, and his brother-in-law, Sir George Stirling. The youth who had escaped from Holyrood without their knowledge, and for whose truant escape they had been treated like the worst of

XXXIV. Protection by Montrose to the Town of Edinburgh, 23d August 1645.

Whereas we have taken under our protection the toune of Edinburgh, and all the inhabitants and burgesses thairof, these are thairfoir to will and command you, and everie one of you, that ye nawayes truble nor molest any of the said burgesses or inhabitants in thair bodie or goods, as ye will be answerable to us under all hiest paines. Given at our Leager, at the Kirktoune of Bothwell, the twentie-third day of August 1645.

Montrose.

Produceit be the Provost, 5 December 1645.[1]

XXXV. Correspondence between Montrose and Drummond of Hawthornden, after the Battle of Kilsyth.

I.

James Marques of Montrose, his Majesty's Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom of Scotland.

These are to will and command all officers and souldiers imployed in this present expedition (for repressing of this treasonable and most

criminals, returned, after the lapse of three months, at the head of two hundred Cavaliers, and delegated with the authority of a Conqueror and a King. From the Tolbooth of Edinburgh he also released the Earl of Crawfurd (see *supra*, p. 142), Lord Ogilvy, Lord Reay, Ogilvy of Powrie, Irving of Drum, and the future historian of these events, Dr George Wishart. This excellent and accomplished divine had been treated with great barbarity. Upon formerly reading the above document, the words '*ane* hundreth' had been mistaken for '*five* hundreth.' Hence it is erroneously stated, Vol. I. p. 214, that Napier had a *thousand* (instead of *two hundred*) horse with him upon this occasion.

[1] *Analecta Scotica*, vol. i. p. 108.

unnatural rebellion, so perversly hatched against his Majesty's sacred person and authority), that none of them trouble or molest Mr William Drummond of Hawthornden, his said lands,[1] , with houses, biggings, yards, parts, pendicles and pertinents thereof, or his men, tenents, cottars, servants, and indwellers thereupon, and their wives, bairns, and families, in their bodies, goods, or gear, directly nor indirectly, as they, and every one of them, will answer on the contrary, at their highest peril. Given at our Leaguer at Bothwel, the 28th of August 1645.

Montrose.

II.

My noble Lord,—At the beginning of the Troubles of this Kingdom, having ever, according to my conscience and duty, continued loyal to the King's Majesty, I contributed my best endeavours, in an essay of a Remonstrance, for perswading his Majesty's subjects to obedience towards him, and peace amongst themselves, which I had an intention to have published at his Majesty's being here. But finding his Majesty's authority so fearfully eclipsed, and the stream of rebellion swelled to that height, that honest men, without danger, dared hardly speak, [far] less publish their conceptions in write, I suppressed the papers. Now since, by the mercy of God, in your Excellency's victorious arms, the Golden Age is returned, his Majesty's Crown re-established, the many-headed monster near quelled, if that piece can do any service at this time, your Excellency, so soon as it can be transcribed, shall command it, either to be buried in oblivion, if it deserve, or published to the view of the world. So your Excellency, as you have granted me a Protection[2] of my for-

[1] This blank occurs in the folio edition of Drummond's Works, printed at Edin., 1711.

[2] See the preceding article, to which this expression obviously refers.

tunes, will be my patron and protector of my papers, and deign to accept of him who shall ever continue

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

W. Drummond.

[August 1645.]

To the Right Honourable
the Marquess of Montrose.

III.

Sir,—We being informed of your good affection to his Majesty's service, and that you have written some pieces vindicating Monarchy from all aspersions, and another named Irene,—These are to desire you to repair to our Leaguer, bringing with you, or sending, such papers, that we may give order for putting of them to the press, to the contentment of all his Majesty's good subjects.

Montrose.

[August] 1645.

To Mr William Drummond
of Hawthornden.[1]

[1] This correspondence, between Montrose and the celebrated bard of Hawthornden, has only been printed in the folio edition of his works, Edinburgh, 1711. In that volume also, for the first time, appeared those papers, *Irene*, &c., referred to above. Montrose, whose own mind was by nature attuned to the muses, had instantly caught fire at Drummond's proposition; and it is interesting to observe how, at the culminating point of his conquest of covenanting Scotland, the champion of the Monarchy had entertained the scheme of rendering even polite letters subservient to the great object for which he had sacrificed all his own domestic affections, and accomplishments. The originals of the above correspondence have not been traced.

XXXVI. Petition from Helen Ogilvy, Lady Ogilvy, in favour of her Husband, James Lord Ogilvy, 7th August 1645.

7 August 1645. Act for transportation of James Ogilvie.
Anent the Supplicatione given in to the Estates of Parliament, wherof the tenor followeth:

'Unto the Honorable Estates of Parliament, humblie meaneth Mistress Helene Ogilvie, spouse to James Ogilvie, That where, the dangerous and pitifull estate of my said husband forceth me, with teares, to implore your Lordships compassione, which I am confident you will charitablie grant, when ye are rightlie informed of my said husbands danger, and indispositione. For first, be his long imprisonment his body is visiblie decayed and pyned away, and the strength therof alltogidder abated, so that he is not able of himselfe to stand or walke. Next, thair is onlie ane boy allowed to attend him, whoise father latlie died of the pest, with whom the said boy wes, shortlie before his deceis. Thirdlie, the house where he wes furnished his meat and drink is infectit, and diverse persones therein died of the plaig; and by the visitatione of the Town of Edinburgh thair is few left, of that sort, who can or will affoord him any interteanment; and many times he will be *fourtie eight hours without so much as ane cup of cold water;* and which distres is liklie daylie to increase, if it shall not please God in his mercie to stay the devouring pestilence in that town, wherby he is lyk to die for hunger. And seeing, I conceive, it is far from your noble thoughts that he should perish in this kynd, therfore I humblie beseeche your Honors to take the same to consideratione, and in your wisdomes to provyde some course wherby he may be delyvered from the present dangers of pestilence and famine; and be putt in such a place and conditione, that he may have commoun benefites of meat and air, and ordinarie meanes of preservatione of his health. And your Honors answer humblie I beseeche.'

Quhilks supplicatione being, upon the fyft of August instant, red in audience of Parliament, and the desyre therof considered be them, the samen was then remitted, be the saides Estates, to the severall bodies, to be thought upoun be them; and the said supplicatione of new again being this day red in ther audience, and the supplicant heard therupon in face of Parliament, the saides Estates, efter voyceing, has ordeaned and ordeans the above named James Ogilvie to be transported from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, wher he is presently incarcerate, to the Ile of Bass, to be keeped prisoner thair; and also ordeanes Sir Patrick Hepburne of Wauchtoun to receive the said James Ogilvie from the Magistrates of the Burghe of Edinburgh to be carried to the said Ile of Bass for that effect, with ane sufficient gaurd, upoun the pay and expenssis of the Estates.[1]

[1] Original MS. Record of the usurping Parliament; Register-House, Edinburgh.

James Lord Ogilvy, who became second Earl of Airly, married Helen Ogilvy, eldest daughter of Sir George Ogilvy of Banff, the first Lord Banff. This serves to identify the 'James Ogilvy' of the above record with James Lord Ogilvy. He had been thus rigorously confined (through the enmity of Argyle) since his capture in the month of August 1644, when carrying despatches from Montrose to the King. See Number VII. I find no notice of this petition, or of the distressing particulars which it narrates, in Balfour's Annals, or in Wishart, Guthry, or any of the other contemporary chroniclers. The petition is here placed a little out of its chronological order, the date being eight days before the battle of Kilsyth. But it forms a curious contrast with the state of matters indicated by the letter of Montrose to Ogilvy, immediately following, and which, it will be observed, is dated about a fortnight after the victory. The Master of Napier (as already noted, *supra*, p. 224) released Lord Ogilvy from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh upon the 20th of August. The desperate crisis for the usurping Government occurring so soon after the date of Lady Ogilvy's petition, accounts for the fact that her husband had not been sent to the Bass. Twenty days after the date of that melancholy petition, Lord Ogilvy, instead of being dead of pestilence or famine, or constrained to amuse himself with envious glances at the liberty of the solan geese, was actively engaged with the Marquis of Douglas, in the south of Scotland, raising levies for Montrose. Such were the vicissitudes of the Troubles.

XXXVII. Montrose to Lord Ogilvy, 28th August 1645.

My Lord,—I receaved yours, and desyres you heave goode intelligence, and make all possible dispatch; for Home and Roxburgh long for you, and heave sent to me this day for a party. Heasten to them, and acquynt me with your opinions of my advance, and what you are able to doe, and wher you thinke we may best joyne. I am

Your humble servand,

Montrose.

Bothwell, 28 August 1645.

For the Lord Ogilvye.[1]

XXXVIII. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 1st September 1645.

Orders from James Marques of Montrose, his Majesties Lieutenant-General, to [John] Robertsone, Captain of the Blair of Atholl.

Whereas wee have resolved on a course for the disposall of Ensigne George Primrose, prisoner in the Blair, these are therfore to requyre you, upon sight heirof, to sett him at libertie, that he may repaire to us with this bearer, to be disposed of as wee sall thinke fitting. Given at our Leager, at Kirkton of Bothwel, 1 of September 1645,

Montrose.[2]

[1] Original, Register-House, Edinburgh. Home and Roxburgh proved to be mere decoy ducks; disgraced themselves, and sold Montrose.

[2] Original, in the collectiou of Mr W. F. Watson, bookseller, Edinburgh.

This George Primrose probably was a relative of the notorious Archibald Prim-

XXXIX. Orders from Montrose to the Town of Aberdeen, 2d September 1645.

Assured Freindis,—Whereas, be the blissing of God upon his Majesties forces within the kingdome, the late rebellione raised and fomented against his sacred persone and authoritie is now happilie crusht, and a Parliament indicted to be keipit at Glascow upone the twentie day of October nixt, for setling religione and peace, and freing the opprest subjects of thoise insupportable burdings they have groaned under this tyme bygane; these are therfore to requyr you furthwith to convene the counsell of your Burghe, and mak choyce of some honest, religious, and loyall persone, within the same, to be Commissioner in your name at this Parliament. This you fail not to doe; and give us ane accompt of your diligence herein, as you respect the goode of his Majesties service, and will be answerable to

Your assured freind

Montrose.

From our Legar at the Kirktoun
of Bothwell, 2 September 1645.

For the Provest and Baillies of Aberdeen.[1]

rose (ancestor of the Earls of Rosebery), clerk to the Committee of Estates, who actually gave in his adherence to Montrose, and joined him in person, along with the Lord Justice-Clerk, Hamilton of Orbiston, after the battle of Kilsyth. Montrose received them very cordially, 'fancying,' says Guthry, 'by that means to draw over the Earl of Lanerk to his side; although Archibald Lord Napier, and others about him, warned him rather to take heed, that, instead thereof, they wrought not a division in his army, and debauched some he had already; it being their conjecture that Lanerk had sent them thither for that end.' (Memoirs, p. 196.) Of course Primrose soon returned the way he came, and was saved from the storm by Argyle. His partial adherence may account for the order to set George Primrose at liberty.

[1] Original, Town Records of Aberdeen. A Parliament of another temper kept this tryst.

XL. Montrose to the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvy, 2d September 1645.

My Lords,—Understanding by this gentlman, the bearer, that your Lordships ar advanced to the Carleill way, I hope you have not takin that course bot upon weightie considerations, and that it will be no impediment for your speidie return, be Buckcleuch, Tweiddaill, and the Merse, that we may meitt in East Lauthian. Your Lordships will use all your best endeavores about the Border, for intelligence concerning the enemie; and lett me hear frequentlie from you. Which expecting, I am

Your Lordships humble servant,

Montrose.

From our Leager at the Kirktoune of Bothwell, 2 September 1645.

To the right honourable
The Marquis of Douglas, and Lord Ogilvy.[1]

XLI. King Charles I. to Montrose, 9th September 1645.

Muntrose,—Not haveing patience, nor tyme, to wryte in cyfer, I must refer you to Digby for what concernes my business, as ether in relation to you, or thease Southerne parts.[2] I shall only mention that which I

[1] These two noblemen joined Montrose with some raw levies ere long. Ogilvy was again captured at Philiphaugh, but the Marquis of Douglas (Montrose's travelling companion in their youth, see vol. i., p. 208, *note*) escaped.

[2] Alluding to his Majesty's intention, which he had previously notified to Montrose, but had now unfortunately abandoned, to join him in arms at the Border. It was under the King's orders that Montrose had marched to the Tweed after the battle of Kilsyth. The injunctions reached him in his camp at Bothwell by several messengers.

eare not, or, to say better, would be sorry the world should not know, how much I estime those reall, generous, indeed usefull obligations,—and without which, in all probability before this tyme, I had not beene capable to have acknowledged any,—you have put upon me. But I will not so injure words, as to put upon them what they ar not capable of; for in this they can but *point at* [that] which otherwais must be *performed*, so as asseurance what *shall be* is one of their cheefe uses: And indeed it is no small part of my misfortune (though the more for your glory) that this *shall be* is yet all my song to you;[1] and it were inexcusable, if real impossibilety were not the just excuse: Asseuring you, that nothing shall be omitted, at pressent or heeraffter, for your assistance, or that may testefy me to bee

Your most asseured faithfull
Constant frend,
CHARLES R.

Ragland, 9 September 1645.[2]

[1] Alluding to the constant hopes held out to Montrose of reinforcements from England, which were never fulfilled.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest. The King had made a fatal move just before taking up his quarters at Ragland, the Marquis of Worcester's, about the end of August 1645. Clarendon informs us, that while previously pausing at Welbeck, 'As far as any resolution was fixed in those days, the purpose was *to march directly into Scotland, to join with the Marquis of Montrose*, who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole kingdom.' Most unfortunately, the King was so ill-advised as not immediately to follow out this scheme, which could easily have been effected at that time. On the contrary, taking causeless alarm at the movements of David Lesly's cavalry, he retreated to Newark. Lesly had just received his orders to march and take Scotland from Montrose. He was thinking of any thing but the King. Clarendon adds, that David Lesly 'came, tired and wearied, with his troops, into Rotheram; *and he confessed afterwards*, if the King had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he had found him in a very ill posture to have made resistance, *and had absolutely preserved Montrose*.' It would have been the preservation of the King himself. There can be no doubt that this false move, of the remnant of the royal army, was fatal to the monarchy, even at the eleventh hour. While his Majesty was writing this complimentary letter to Montrose (*unico contextu*, by the way, with his most severe let-

XLII. Sir Robert Spottiswoode to Lord Digby, 10th Sept. 1645.

My Lord,—We are now arrived *ad Columnas Herculis*,[1] to Tweedside; dispersed all the king's enemies within this kingdom; to several places, some to Ireland, most of them to Berwick; and had no open enemy more to deal with, *if you had kept David Lesly there*, and not suffered him to come in here, to make head against us of new.[2] It is thought strange here, that at least you have sent no party after him; which [party] we expected, although he should not come at all. You little imagine the difficulties my Lord Marquis hath here to wrestle with. The overcoming of the enemy is the least of them; he hath more to do with his own seeming friends. Since I came to him, (which was but within these ten days, after much toil and hazard,) I have seen much of it. *He was forced to dismiss his Highlanders* for a season, who would needs return home to look to their own affairs. When they were gone, *Aboyne took a caprice*, and had away with him the greatest strength he had of horse. Notwithstanding whereof he resolved to follow his work, and clear this part of the kingdom (that was only resting) of the rebels that had fled to Berwick, and kept a bustling here. Besides, he was *invited hereunto* by the Earls of Roxburgh and Home; who, when he was within a dozen of miles of them, have rendered their houses and themselves to David Lesly, and are carried in as prisoners to Berwick.[3] Traquair hath been with him, and promised more nor he hath yet performed. All these were great disheartenings to any other but to him,

ter to Rupert for the loss of Bristol), lucky, 'cannie Davie Lesly,' with his six thousand troopers, contrived, by crawling through a Scotch mist, to pounce upon a few hundreds of the deserted Irish at Philiphaugh. Meanwhile Lord Digby was under orders to join Montrose with fifteen hundred horse, but was worsted on the way, and immediately took flight abroad, with other flighty Cavaliers.

[1] *i. e.*, The termination of Montrose's adventure, and the fulfilment of his pledge at Oxford.

[2] See *supra*, p. 232, *note*.

[3] See Number XXXVII., and *note*.

whom nothing of this kind can amaze. With the small forces he has presently with him, he is resolved to pursue David Lesly, and not suffer him to grow stronger. If you would perform that which you lately promised, both this kingdom and the north of England might be soon reduced, and considerable assistance sent from hence to his Majesty. However, nothing will be wanting on our parts here; these that are together are both loyal and resolute; only a little encouragement from you (as much to let it be seen that they are not neglected, as for any thing else) would crown the work speedily. This is all I have for the present, but that I am your Lordships most faithful friend

Ro. Spottiswoode.

Near Kelso, Sept. 10, 1645.[1]

XLIII. Lord Ogilvy to the Earl of Aboyne, [September 1645.]

My Lord,—Tho I know all the baites and entysements of the world will not be abill to mak you doe any thing unworthie of yourselff, yet, my Lord, my constant affectione and brotherhoode to yourselff, and respect to your old honorabill familie, wherunto now ye haiff cheifest interest, inforces me to represent to your Lordship, in your honor that

[1] This letter was printed, along with all the other documents relating to the trial and condemnation of the excellent President, by his grandson, John Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode, as an Introduction to the edition of his grandfather's Practicks of the Laws of Scotland, published at Edinburgh, 1706. The letter was found in the President's pocket when taken prisoner at Philiphaugh, not having been transmitted. It is an interesting and important document, and precisely corroborates the history of the particular crisis as given by Bishops Wishart and Guthry. Between its date and the previous 4th of September, had occurred those shameful desertions of the Standard, by Sir Allaster Macdonnel and Lord Aboyne, which occasioned the disaster at Philiphaugh. The statement as to the invitation from Home and Roxburgh, is corroborated by Montrose's own letter to Ogilvy, Number XXXVII.; and the severe allusions to the Border nobles named, are justified by all contemporary history. See *infra*, p. 244, *note*.

which doeth concerne your Lordship, that knowing of it you may be upone your guard. Argyll leaves no winds unfurlled to sow dissentione among you, and draw your Lordship aff, and hath ordered a freind of yours to wreitt to that effect to you and your father, by Provest Leslie of Aberdeine. Lykwayes, Harie Mountgomerie hath Commissiounes to my Lord your father, and your Lordships selff, for that end; and is on his journey. I think he be now northward, haiffing gott my Lord Drumounds fyne of L.30,000. Both Drumound and your sister hath sent me word, desyring I sould with all expeditione, schow your Lordship, that your Lordship suld tak some fitt opportunitie for taking Mountgomerie prisoner; as also, that Argyll, notwithstanding of any oathes or promiss that he will seeme to mak to you, does intend nothing bot your dishonor, the utter exterprating of all memorie of your old familie, and, *gif it culd lye in your hands,* the ruinating and betraying of the king's service; and this my Lady Drumound told me befor I eame out of prisone;[1] and, sinee, she sent me commissione to intreatt that ye will not be ensnared; for they ar studieing to draw your Lordship aff, and uthers, thinking therby to turne everie man as desperat as themselves. So, they ar begging grace to themselves, bot cannot obtain it; and seing they see nothing bot inevitable ruine befor them, they wold ingadge deeplie innocents with them. I know your Lordships gallantry to be sueh, that I will not presume to goe farder than faithfullie to rander up my commissione to you. When any thing farther worthie

[1] The event ere long completely justified this statement. Argyle was the direct means of bringing Huntly to the block, and of ruining his family; and he was the indirect means of bringing his sovereign to the block, and of ruining his service. Aboyne (who eventually died in exile, ruined and broken-hearted) was the nephew of Argyle, and Lady Drummond was his niece, through their mother. Ogilvy most probably here refers to his release after the battle of Kilsyth, and not to his subsequent escape, in the month of January 1646. The disaster at Philiphaugh, and the failure of Digby, had so changed the aspect of affairs, that Ogilvy, could scarcely have expressed himself, *after* those events, with such confidence as to the desperate condition of the Covenanters.

your Lordships knowledge of, occurres, I sall instantlie give notice therof. In the interim I continow

Your Lordship's humble servand,

Subscribitur, OGILVIE.

[Endorsed] Copy of my Lord Ogilvies letter to my Lord Aboyne.[1]

XLIV. MONTROSE TO STEWART OF SHEIRGLAS, 17th September 1645.

James Marquis of Montrose his Majesties Livetennent, and Governor Generall of the Kingdom of Scotland.

WHEREAS we did direct ane former order unto you for apprehending of all such stragling Irishes as you should find within your Countrey, and sending them bound to the Armie,—These be therfor againe to will and command you, that, immediatelie after sight hereof, you tak and apprehend all such stragling Irishes as you shall find within your Countrey, and send them fast bound to the Armie, with ane guard, except such as have our warrand; as you will answere on the contrarie at your hiest perrell. Given at our Camp at Bochantie, the seventeent day of September 1645.

MONTROSE.

Orders for John Stewart of Sheirglas, and the rest of the Countrey of Atholl.[2]

[1] Contemporary copy, Wodrow's Collections, vol. lxvii., Number 51. There is no address or date to this copy. The probable date is between the 4th of September 1645, when Aboyne deserted the Standard at the Borders, and the 13th of the same month, when Ogilvy was re-captured at Philiphaugh. During this interval he was actively engaged in raising levies for Montrose.

[2] Original, in possession of B. Nightingale, Esq. On the fourth day after the disaster at Philiphaugh, Montrose, it seems, was encamped at Buchantie, in Glenalmond. It was here that he was joined by Lord Kilpont, when marching to Tippermuir, exactly one twelvemonth before. See *supra*, p. 149. The next Number proves that, by the 2d of October, he had turned southward, to Comrie, in Stratherne.

XLV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 2d October 1645.

Whereas you did resave former ordors from us for causing of Alexander and Neill Stewarts, brothers to John Stewart of Inverchynachen, restore and delyver bak such goods as they did tak from Captaine Ratray, these ar therfor to will and command you, that immediatelie efter sight heirof, you putt the saids ordors to executione, and that you tak particular notice to sie the saids goods restored, as you will answere on the contrarie. Subscrivit at Comrie, 2d October 1645.

Montrose.

You will resave from this bearer thrie hundredth thri-scor ball; and, as occasione shall offer, your necessities shall be supplied. Meanwhyll you will be doing what you can; and be extrem carefull of the prisoners, *especiallie of Archbald Campbell.*

For John Robertsone of Inver,
Captain of the Castell of Blair of Atholl.[1]

XLVI. Montrose to the Marquis of Huntly, 7th October 1645.

Nobell Lord,—After my congratulation of your Lordships happy arrivall,[2] I must acknowledg all your nobell and affectionat expressions

[1] Original, in possession of Henry Porter, Esq., London. Montrose, it seems, was now in Stratherne, but soon turned northward again, with the view of recalling Aboyne to the Standard, and of conciliating the jealous Huntly. He was in great alarm at this time for the fate of his friends, who had fallen into the hands of the Covenanters. Hence his anxiety to retain some hold over their fears, there being no hope from their mercy. He took many prisoners, but never ill-treated one. The Covenanting leaders, however, dreaded reprisals, which Montrose occasionally was provoked to threaten. By means of his prisoners, he effected many exchanges, and some even at this crisis. The policy of keeping firm hold of a prisoner who rejoiced in such a name as 'Archibald Campbell,' is obvious. See Number VI.

[2] Montrose could scarcely have written this congratulation without a smile. During

concerning his Majesties service, told me by your sone, and Balloch; as also your Lordships favourable respects to myself, and the course you wish to be taken in busines for hereafter. For what heath formerly past, I hope thos two heave satisfyed your Lordship in it; and for tymes to come, I am absolutly resolved to observe the way you propose; and in evry thing, upon my honor, to witness myself as

Your sone and faithful servand,

MONTROSE.

Drumminer, 7th October 1645.

For my Nobell Lord,
The Marquise of Huntly.[1]

XLVII. MONTROSE TO ROBERTSON OF INVER, 25th October 1645.

ASSURED FREINDE,—I heave often willed you to keip those you heave in hold, in termes off *prissoners*. Alwayes, for some particular causes

his victorious progress, Huntly, although actually commissioned (at the same time with Montrose) as the King's Lieutenant in the north, had hid himself in Lord Rea's country, devoured with spleen and jealousy, for more than a twelvemonth. After the battle of Kilsyth, however, he ventured to emerge, and returned to Gordon Castle, and began to make some miserable demonstrations on the strength of his commission.

[1] Original; Gordon Papers, in possession of his Grace the Duke of Richmond. Montrose's extreme anxiety to reclaim the Gordons, and to conciliate their impracticable chief, will account for the tone of this politic letter. It confirms Wishart's narrative of Montrose's proceedings at this time. The Bishop tells us, that his hero, greatly alarmed for the fate of his distinguished friends who had fallen into the hands of the Covenanters at Philiphaugh, rapidly crossed the Grampians, and exerted all his energies to reclaim the Gordons; that after having repeatedly sent messengers to Aboyne, he had marched to the north, in order to exercise his personal influence with that wayward nobleman, who at length rejoined him *at Drumminor* (Castle Forbes, in Aberdeenshire, from which the letter in the text is dated), with many professions of renewed loyalty, not destined to be fulfilled. At this seemingly favourable crisis, Montrose wrote the above letter to Huntly. (See Wishart, c. 17.)

which you shall know hereafter, thes ar to will and desyre you, that, as you tender his Majesty's service, my respect and favour, and all and whatsoever concernements, you, upon sight heiroff, putt those your prissoners in most strik fermance, without the least eather maner or saeson of freidome whatsoever, all sort of pretences layed asyde; which most assuredly expecting, I am your lovcing freinde,

MONTROSE.

Lochearne, 25 October 1645.

You will, be all meanes, be carfull that all the cuntry people come out, that non of them be suffered to stay by no meanes at home, and iff any straggle bake, that strik notice be taken with them.

For Jhon Robertsone, Captaine
of the Blair off Atholl.[1]

[1] Original, in possession of Henry F. Holt, Esq., London.

The extreme anxiety about the prisoners evinced in this letter, autograph of Montrose, was still in reference to his own friends. The Committee of Estates, sitting at Glasgow, had just executed three of those most dear to him. As soon as the indefatigable Marquis had obtained the accession of Huntly's sons, Aboyne and Lord Lewis Gordon, he retraced his steps to the South, and hastened with all his forces through Bremar and Glenshee, down into Athol, and thence towards Perth. Wishart's narrative to this effect is corroborated by the letters in the text. Upon the 7th of October Montrose dates from *Drumminor*; upon the 25th from *Lochearne*. In vain he thus hurried with his flying camp from South to North, and from North to South. Even on this return to Perthshire, with such an object in view as to save from the fangs of the Covenant the most distinguished and loyal Scotchmen, first Lord Lewis Gordon, and then Aboyne, again dropt off, and returned to their worse than useless parent. Immediately after the date of the above letter, Montrose hurried across the Forth, into the Lennox, with something less than three hundred horse, and twelve hundred foot. But the Inquisition at Glasgow had got tidings of the new defection of the Gordons, and their bloody thermometer instantly rose. Robert Burns (as extracted by Crawfurd, see *supra*, p. 222) records:—

'The Committee of Estates sat down at Glasgow. They sat in the Tolbuith Hall, when the three prisoners were condemned

XLVIII. The Gordons to Montrose, [October 1645.]

My Lord,—We need not, we hope, seek to ingratiate ourselves into your Excellencies favour, by informing you of our hearts. Tis true, we have not with that readiness as befitted us waited on you, according to your expectation, with our swords in our hands, which, if we had, knowing our dependance on the Marquis of Huntly, we had been ruined. For hitherto we still hoped his integrity, but now with grief are enforced to let your Honour know the contrary. For Huntly is your back friend, and, both by his example and private directions, hath withheld us all, forbidding even with threats all with whom he hath power, to have any thing to do with your Lordship, or to assist you either with their power or counsel. This we thought fit to signifie unto you, desiring still to continue in your good favour, as

Your faithfull friends and servants.[1]

for treason. Sir William Rollo suffered first, a large scaffold being erected above the cross, and was beheaded at four afternoon, 21st October; and on the morrow, the 22d, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Ogilvie of Innerquharity, a lovely young youth, suffered. They were all three beheaded.' (See *supra*, p. 166.) The original record, in the Register House, confirms the Glasgow bailie (presiding at the executions) as to the dates. Guthry erroneously assigns the 28th and 29th.

[1] This letter occurs in the rare volume entitled 'Blood for Blood,' printed at Oxford, 1661. See Number IX., and p. 148, *note*. The compiler unfortunately has omitted the date, but entitles the letter, 'The Gordons to Montrose,' and describes it as a document sent by some of the clan to the victorious Marquis, when he was making every effort to obtain the co-operation of Huntly. The following statement by Wishart seems to verify the letter in the text:—

'Nor did some of them (Huntly's friends) fear to profess openly, that they would yield their duty and service to Montrose, if Huntly should stand out in his humour; *and they were as good as their words*. But he, refusing the advice of his friends, resolved, whatever came on't, to run counter to Montrose; nor did Montrose ever propose any thing, though ever so just or honourable, or advantageous, which he would not cross or reject.' See the English edition, printed at the Hague while Montrose was resident there, p. 143; and the Latin edition, c. 17.

XLIX. Testimonial to David Lesly from the Committee of the Estates of Scotland, 30th October 1645.

30 October 1645. The Committee of Estates taking into thair consideration the good and acceptable service done by Lieutenant General David Lesly to this Kingdome, in so fit and seasonable a time, by the overthrow of the common enemy at Philiphaugh, in the height of his successe and pride,—therby quickening and refreshing the sad hearts of *his Majesties good and faithful subjects*, wherby he hes singularly obleidged the whole nation to an thankfull remembrance of his said service,—They do therfor, in testimony therof, ordaine the General Commissary to pay to the said Lieutenant General the soume of fiftie thousand merks Scottis, out of the first and readiest publict moneyes; and declares they will cause provide an jewell worth ten thousand merks; and doe likewise hereby recommend to the Estates of Parliament, at thair nixt meeting, to tak his generous deserving to their further consideration.[1]

[1] Original Register of the Committee of Estates, Register House, Edinburgh. This is not a creditable record for the nobility of Scotland, of whom the following formed the *Sederunt*, at the above note of rejoicing. 'Crawford, *Pres.* (*i. e.* Lindsay, who was President), Calander, Argyll, Glencarne, Cassills, Lauderdale (*i. e.* the persecutor of the second race of Covenanters), Dumfermline, Findlater, Lanerick, Frenderaught, Yester, Burghlie, Couper, Kirkcudbright, Bargeny.' It would be amusing, as well as instructive, to compare the public conduct, through life, of these noblemen, with the above testimonial. But space will not permit. Callender, for instance, had been so frequently colleaguing in private with Montrose against the Covenanters, that the Marquis declared he knew his disloyalty and dishonesty to be entirely composed of *fear for his estates*. See *supra*, p. 136. Lanerick, too (nourished in the very bosom of his Sovereign), once declared, that if he thought his brother Hamiltou capable of being undutiful to the King, he would 'willingly contribute to bring him to his deserved punishment.' See Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 299. Then, as for Dumfermline, see *supra*, p. 68. And how degrading this exultation of these nobles over Lesly's *victory!* Six thousand steel-clad troopers stole through a mist upon a few hundred Irish kerns, surprised, but failed to capture Montrose, and took a bloody, and cold-blooded revenge upon a defenceless remnant of his army!

L. King Charles I. to Montrose, 3d November 1645.

Montrose,—As it hath beene none of my least afflictions, nor misfortunes, that you have had hitherto no assistance from me, so I conjure you to belive, that nothing but impossibility hath beene the cause of it: Witness my coming hither (not without some difficulty), being only for that end; and, when I saw that could not doe, the parting with 1500 horse, under the command of Digby, to send unto you. And though the successe (which I have heere ever since expected, and that with some inconvenience to my other affaires) hath not beene according to my wishes, yet that, nor nothing else, shall discourage me from seeking, and laying hould upon, all occasions to assist you; it being the least part of that kyndness I owe you for the eminent fidelity, and generosity, you have showed in my service. And be assoured, that your less prosperus fortune is so far from lessening my estimation of you, that it will rather cause my affection to *kythe the cleerlier* to you: For (by the grace of God) no hardness of condition shall ever make me slaken in my frendship towards you; in despyte of all the *spetius shewes* of *cunning, base propositions;* against which (if there were nothing else) your letter to Digby, of the 24 of September (which I have opened and redd), is to me a sufficient antidot. I will now say no more, but that, upon all occasions, and in all fortunes, you shall ever fynd me

Your most assoured, faithfull, constant frend,

Charles R.

Newarke, 3 November 1645.

For the present state of my affaires, I refer you to Jacke Asheburnham.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This interesting letter was unknown to history, until the Editor recovered it from the family archives. The letter of the 24th of September, to which his Majesty refers, unfortunately has not been recovered. It must have contained Montrose's own account of the disaster at Philiphaugh. See p. 244, *note*.

LI. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 9th November 1645.

Inver,—Having ane purpose to tak ane setled and solid course throgh the wholl Kingdome, for leavies in his Majesties service, and being to repare to the countrey of Atholl for that effect, least the countrey should be prejudged ather throgh our stay above ane night or two, or in furnishings and provisions,—These be therfor to will and command you, that immediatlie efter sight heirof, you convein all the countreymen of Atholl to keep ane randevow at the Blair of Atholl, upon Fryday nixt, the fourteint of this instant, be nyne a-clock in the morning, that we may tak ane setled and solid course, be ther owne sights and advyses, for ane competent and proportionall number to be keiped upon service; wherein you are to use exact diligence that we be not obleiged to stay over ane night or two, nor the countrey trubled with furnishings and provisions. So we rest:

Montrose.[1]

Kilmahowg, 9 November 1645.

For John Robertsone of Inver,
Captain of the Blair of Atholl.

[1] Original, in possession of the Editor. This letter is dated at Kilmahog, near Callender. From this we learn, that Montrose, having waited in vain for the accession of the Gordons, to enable him to attack the murderous Committee of Estates (see *supra*, p. 239, *note*), sitting at Glasgow under the protection of General Middleton, had, prior to the 9th November, left that neighbourhood, and was on his way to the rendezvous at the Blair of Atholl, which he had appointed for the 14th. Wishart tells us,—'At length, on the 19th November, Montrose removed from the Lennox, and marching through the hills of Menteith, which were deep with snow, he passed through Stratherne, and crossing the Tay, returned again to Athol.' This is all consistent with the letter in the text, except the date. Another difficulty is to reconcile these movements with that solitary record of the death and burial of the Marchioness, which has been left by Robert Burns (see *supra*, p. 222, *note*). He says that, in this very month of November, Montrose's Lady died, that he came and buried her at

LII. Montrose to the Marquis of Huntly, [November 1645.]

I hope I need not inculcate to your remembrance the danger the King and Kingdom at present is in, and the misery that hanges over his and all faithfull subjects heads. Blame me not, my Lord, if I can lay the fault on none but yourself and son; first, for hindering the supplyes which the King sent; and next, for the loss of those gallant and faithfull men lately with so much cruelty butchered. Yet nevertheless, since things past cannot be recalled, I beseech you to recollect yourself for the future, and if you will not assist, yet at least grant the favour of a conference to the Kings governour.

Montrose.[1]

Montrose, and was *chased back* to the north by Middleton. Unaccountable as is the silence of Wishart, and others, with regard to this interesting incident, the fact is scarcely to be doubted, upon such contemporary authority as that of the Glasgow bailie; nor is that authority contradicted by any record of the later existence of the mysterious Marchioness.

[1] This letter also was printed in 'Blood for Blood,' 1661 (*supra*, p. 240.) Wishart (c. 17.) narrates, that Montrose, when returned to the north from the Lennox, learning that Huntley had evinced any thing but a disposition to co-operate, sent to him Sir John Dalzell, with instructions which, as Wishart gives it, are precisely in terms of the above letter. Moreover, the reference to the executions at Glasgow, and the failure of Digby's expedition, serve to authenticate it. See a letter from Lord Digby to Sir Edward Hyde (Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 199), in which he makes a poor defence for the failure of his expedition. He adds, that the northern horse being nearly in a state of mutiny, 'It was thought fit to try whether they would be engaged to adventure to Montrose, *who in all his letters had seemed much to resent the neglect of him, in not sending him a supply of horse, assuring, that with the help but of a thousand he could carry through his work.* The proposition being made to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, he at first point blank refused it, as an undertaking which had, by Gerard and all the rest, been declared desperate, even with the King's horse; but, upon second thoughts, finding that all the horse would disband if they were drawn southward, he and all the northern gentlemen came to the King, and told him, that if he would lay his commands upon me to take the charge, and to go along with them, they would adventure it; otherwise not.'

LIII. Petitions from the Kirk to the Estates against Mercy to the Noblemen and Gentlemen captured at Philiphaugh, 5th December 1645.

I.

Unto the Honorable and High Court of Parliament, The humble Remonstrance of the Commission of the Generall Assemblie.

Your Honours are not ignorant *how often* we have expressed our *earnest desires* unto you, for justice to be execute against these from whoes treacherous designes and bloodie practises hath issued that flood of calamities which hath overflowed the face of the land, threatening all the inhabitants thereof with ruine, and swallowing manie thousands in destruction. Nether can it escape your Lordships how displeasing unto the Supreme Judge of the world, how dangerous unto yourselves, how greavous unto the hearts of the Lord's People, and how advantageous unto the Enemie, your former delayes have bene. It is mater of astonishment unto us to remember how exceeding low we were brought by the vilest of men; and had not mercie speedily prevented us, we had bene more then miserable. Since the Lord hath begun to scatter the cloud of our confusions and feares, by the manifestation of a day of power on our behalf, when our hopes were neer gone, we cannot but renew our former desires; and, *as the servants of the liveing God*, earnestly beseech you, by Him who must judge the quick and the dead, to heare the voce of your Bretheren's blood, the crie of the widow and fatherless, who weep for their husbands and fathers, and will not be comforted, because they are not, to have regard to the common desires and expectations of all the people in the land, *which are verie united in this*, as your Honors may perceive by the supplications presented unto

you from the severall parts of the Countrey for that effect;[1] and, from these considerations, to bestirr yourselves impartially, and without delay, against all such as have bene the troublers of our peace. We doe also humbly conceive it to be a branch of righteousness no lesse necessarie then the former, with much compassion and care to have regard to those persons and parts of the land whoes faithfulnes and zeale have drawen upon them the greatest dint of the furie and violence of enemies, and are yet, or have been, under their feet; that thair hearts may not faint, nor their hands faile, by great and greavous sufferings and losses, but that your tender respects may encourage them and others to be constant unto the end. And because enemies are still active, both within and without the Kingdome, therefore it is the mater of our humble desires, and, we trust, shall be of your earnest cares, so to strengthen our armies, both at home and abroad, as they may follow the work with resolution and courage; to which end, as we conceive, there is nothing more conduceable then to purge them from greavous enormities, and scandalous transgressions, and from such persons as *walk contrarie to the ends of the Ligue and Covenant;* and so to regulate the cariage of souldiers in their marches, quarters, and whole conversation, as they may not spoile nor oppresse, but live godly, soberly, and righteously; then shall God delight to dwell amongst them, and in the power of his strength they shall prosper and prevail. Nather [would] wee have these our desires so interpreted as thogh we did not entertaine thoghts of peace. The Searcher of hearts knoweth that we bow our knees dayly before the Throne of Grace for removall of the sword; and we entreat your Honors to studie such a peace as may stand with truth, *and with the solemn Ligue and Covenant* betwixt the nations. We are confident that your prudence and piety, from the sense of the manie sad and sore

[1] This blasphemous cry for the blood of their prisoners, men so little worthy of death as Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Lord Ogilvy, and the rest, met with no response but that of stupefaction, horror, and fear, from the rudest peasant in the land. The free sense of the country would rather have hanged some of these preachers.

pressures wherewith this land is weighted allmost unto fainteing, with one heart and one minde will seriously endeavour the satisfaction of these our just and humble desires, which do so much contribute unto the preservation of Religion, and establishment of righteousness, that all of us at length may reap the fruicts of both in quietness and peace.

A. Ker.[1]

5 December 1645. Red in audience of the Parliament.

II.

Unto the High and Honorable Court of Parliament, the humble Remonstrance of the Synod of Merce and Teviotdale, convened at Jedburgh, October 24, 1645.

We need not lay before your Honors what the Lord calls for at your hands in the point of Justice, nor what you owe unto the manie thousands of his people, whoes blood is as water spilt upon the ground. Your oune light reaches unto the decerning of deuty, and your pietie and prudence, we trust, will make you faithful and zealous in the discharge of the samen. Our intention is not to convince your understandings, nor to fasten anie imputation upon your affections, but to strengthen your hands in purgeing the land from blood-guiltines, whiles you doe behold that the desires of justice, against delinquents, are not the scattered and inconsiderate wishes of one or two blinded with prejudice, or transported with passion, but the common and deliberate motions of the *Assemblies of the Lords servants,* after they have supplicated himself for direction, and searched for truth in his oune word, which presseth the administration of justice with much vehemence and perspicuity.[2] We

[1] Andrew Ker was clerk to the Assembly.

[2] These preachers never delivered a sermon at this time without selecting a text which they could wrest to their bloodthirsty arguments, urged, no doubt, 'with much vehemence and perspecuity.'

are therefore confident that your hearts will not faint, nor your hands faile, untill you have cut off the hornes of the wicked, and made enemies beare the just reward of their violence and crueltie. And thogh we do remember all delinquents with indignation, yet we cannot but be most apprehensive of the practises of these within our oune boundis; and from the sense thereof, humbly desire your Honors to have regard to their deserved censure.

Mr James Guthrie,[1] *Moderator*,
At the command of the Synode.

5th December 1645. Red in audience of the Parliament.

III.

The humble Petition of the Synod of Galloway, synodicallie subscribed, and of the Presbyteries Committees, and severall Parishes thereof, which subscriptions are heir to be produced when they shalbe required: To the Right Honourable the Estates of Parliament.

Right Honourable,—The manie sufferings of this poore land, by sword and pestilence, ar visible to all; and the watchmen of this Kirk have, in the Assemblie and Commission, often represented the causes therof to your Honours; and, amongst the rest, it is condiscended upon

[1] This Guthry was deservedly hanged, as an incorrigible traitor, at the Restoration. Wodrow, of course, records him as a martyr. Malcolm Laing tries to dignify his exit. But he had been mainly instrumental in acquiring for the scaffold of the Covenant the characteristic of *shambles;* he had personally insulted Charles II.; he had excommunicated his Commissioner; and he was doing his utmost to subvert the restored dynasty, and to keep up the democratic agitation against established government. And let none grudge the man who signs the above petition a gallows to himself.

by all that will see, that one of the prime causes is, *the sparing of Incendiaries and Malignants put in your hands.* And now it hath pleased God, beyond mens expectation, to put again in your power diverse of these pernicious instruments, yet to prove your zeale to justice, and to the saftie of your mother Kirk and Kingdome. Therefore wee the subscribers, laying to hart the miseries of this land, the murther of our brethren, the just wrath of God burning against us, and the *shame of our Nation* (the like whereof hath not befallen this Kingdome for many ages),[1] doe in all humilitie supplicat your Honours (who are intrusted with the publick), *craving most earnestlie* that which your late oath of Covenant and Parliament, your place, and the bleeding condition of your countrie doe require, that *the sword of justice may be impartiallie drawn against those persons now in bonds,* who have lifted up their hand against the Lord, the sworne Covenant, and this afflicted Kirk. And if, *which God forbid,* the justice of this Parliament remedie not our woes, wee apprehend the ruine of this Kingdome, and of the begun reformation, with the progresse of Gods wraith against us, till it consume us root and branch; yea, wee approach near such confusion, that the wicked salbe animated, and enabled to shake off all Government, and the loyall subjects disabled to stand for defense of Religion and Libertie. Experience hath abundantly taught your Honours, that impunitie hath increased the number, treacherie, and bold attempts of these wicked men against Religion and Lawes. Wee doe therefore humblie requiest the premisses may be speedily taken to your consideration, and your answere.

5 December 1645. Red in audience of the haill Parliament.

[1] That is to say, the armies of the Covenant having been disgraced and destroyed by the army of the King, the case resolved into one of *murder* against Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Lord Ogilvy, &c., whose blood the Almighty himself required, in revenge!

IV.

Unto the Honorable and High Court of Parliament, the humble Supplication of the Provinciall Assembly of Fife, convened at Kirkcaldie in October 1645, formerly presented to the Committee of Estates.

It is not unknowen to your Honors, in the publik calamities of this land by the sword, how large a share this shire hath had thereof, verie farre beyond all others. And now seeing divine Providence hath so disposed that the meeting of the Honourable Estates in Parliament should be in these bounds, we thought it incumbent unto us to make this addresse unto your Honors; not that we doubt of the *bowells of your compassion*, and zeale in their behalf,—for we have evident grounds to be confident thereof,—but that we may give a proof of our tender care, and fervent love in the Lord towards them we are sett over, and of our respect to the memorie of those who died in that public service. We were never deficient, when we saw orders from the Honorable Estates, earnestly to urge our people to goe furth in pursuite of the public enemie, whatever was the hazard. Nether were the people slow or backward, but verie readie upon all occasions, albeit the Lord in his just displeasure did with-hold the desired success, whereby their sufferings and our sorrows are greatly multiplied. Farr be it from us to seem to prescribe to your Honors; but we trust it will not be thoght unbeseeming our place and calling humbly and earnestly to supplicate, that (as we have heard your zealous pourpose of executeing justice upon these *bloodie men* quhom God hath putt in your hands) so just and laudable a resolution may *speedily be put in execution;* that hereby Gods wrath, which is greatly increased against the land (as for other sinnes, so also for the great slacknes that hath bene in takeing order with wicked and violent men), may be turned away, *the land purged of*

blood, the mourners in a part *comforted,* all sorts of people convinced of your Lordships straight and impartiall proceedings: Likeas we recommend to your tender care the condition of the necessitous widows and orphans within this shire: And your Honors answer we humbly crave.

5 December 1645. Red in audience of the haill Parliament.[1]

LIV. Reply of the Estates to the Petitions of the Kirk, 26th December 1645, and 2d January 1646.

The Estates of Parliament having considered the remonstrance tendered unto them from the Commission of the Generall Assemblie, and having also called to mynd the former petitions and remonstrances to the same effect, doe thankfullie acknowledge their great cair, prudence, and faithfulnes in all, especiallie in moving so seasonablie thes desyres contained in the remonstrance now presented. And for their satisfaction, *in so just and pious desyres,* doe herby certifie them of the Estates faithfull and best endevours for executing justice upon delinquents, impartiallie and speedilie, for releiving the losses and sufferings of our freinds, for strenthening and purging the armies at home and abroad (and reforming

[1] These four Petitions are from the originals, which had found their way into the Montrose charter-chest. Balfour, in his notes of the proceedings in this Parliament, says:—'A Remonstrance from the Commissioners of the General Assembly to the High Court of Parliament, for justice upon delinquents and malignants, who have shed the blood of their brethren, &c., read. Four Petitions and Remonstrances of the same nature, &c., exhibited to the House this afternoon, from the provincial assemblies and shires of Fife, Dumfries, Mers, Teviotdail, and Galloway.'—(Annals, vol. iii. p. 324.) These are all now produced, and printed for the first time, with the exception of the petition from Dumfries, which is not found with the rest in the Montrose charter-chest. But the contents of it may be inferred from the others.

the abuses of disorderlie quarterings and plunderings),[1] and active prosecuting the warre against our enemies, and for studieing a peace consistent with trueth, the league and covenant, and the honor of this kingdome: And for the better performing of all this, doe desyre the ministers fervent prayers to God, for wisdome and counsell, for him to direct us to the best means and wayes for attaining thes ends, and for removing all things that may be obstructiones therunto.

26 December 1645. Red in audience of Parliament, and remittit to the severall bodeis.

2 January 1646. Red in audience of Parliament, and approvin, with the marginall eik.

CRAWFURD & LINDESAY, I.P.D., Parl.[2]

[1] The words in parenthesis are added on the margin.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest. Those of the nobility of Scotland who were neither of the *Kirk clique* (as was the President of the Parliament whose signature is to the above), nor, on the other hand, of the *excommunicated* loyalists, had become completely paralyzed, from the power which the Argyle government exercised over their persons and estates, by means of the sword in its hand. Hence was Scotland disgraced by such a Parliamentary paper as that in the text. This Parliament met at St Andrews upon the 26th of November 1645. It was opened by a long harangue from Sir Archibald Johnston, in which he urged the immediate execution of the noblemen and gentlemen in the Castle of St Andrews—a prelude, in short, to those petitions against mercy, from the Kirk, in the framing of which, no doubt, he had been very busy. Two days after those petitions were read, Andrew Cant preached to the Estates in the forenoon from this text—'The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished,' 2d Peter ii. 9. He was followed in the afternoon by Robert Douglas upon this theme—'The bellows are burnt, the lead is consumed of the fire, the founder melteth in vain, for the wicked are not plucked away,' Jeremiah vi. 29. Upon the 26th of December, the date of the above document, 'The House ordains the Irish prisoners taken at and after Philiphaugh, in all the prisons of the kingdom, especially in the prisons of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Perth, *to be executed without any assize or process*, conform to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms past in act.' This relates to the poorer class of prisoners, most of whom had been captured

LV. Declaration by Sir Robert Spottiswoode from the Castle of St Andrews, 2d January 1646.

In presence of the laird of Bogie and Mr Robert Barclay, two of the Commissioners for the process.

Sir Robert Spotiswood being examined, and interrogate when he went in to James Graham's army, Declares, he went in to him at Bothwell, upon the first day of September last by past, and went along with the said James Graham and his army all the way, till he came to Philiphaugh: And being in Selkirk the time of the alarm, he followed down to the haugh after James Graham had drawn down all his men to the haugh: And when the deponer was come down, he found the armies ready to join; and before he could come through the haugh to the other side, where the baggage stood, James Graham's army was put to flight; and the deponer, seeing them flee, resolved to flee also; and was thereafter taken, by the laird of Silvertonhill and some of his accomplices, holding his sword in his hand.

Robert Spotiswood.
Ja. Weems of Bogie.
Robert Barclay.

after the glut of cold-blooded massacre on Newark lea, and at Linlithgow bridge. The noblemen and gentlemen in the Castle petitioned Parliament for a trial by their peers, or by the Justice General, or before the whole Parliament, and not by a *Committee*. In particular they remonstrated against Archibald Johnston being one of their *judges*, as he had virulently prejudged their case, and pledged himself for their execution. The petition was rejected, and the petitioners referred to the Committee. When, at the re-establishment of the proper Courts of Justice, the hour of this double-dyed traitor came, and the gallows was reared for him, a more awful spectacle, of the ruffian reduced to his level of the coward, than Warriston, crawling on his hands and knees for mercy, and offering a new apostacy for that life which the most tempered justice dared not grant, is not to be met with in the history of man. (See the Records of this Parliament, Register House; Balfour; and Sir George Mackenzie.)

For clearing the generality of that part of my deposition bearing that I was taken with my sword in my hand, the manner of it was this. By the time that I came from the town of Selkirk down to Philiphaugh, the fight was begun (wherein I was never engaged), and the flight taken, in the which I was carried along with the throng, having *nothing but a cane in my hand.* But being upon a borrowed nagg, that was not able to take me off, and being pursued close by some troopers with their drawn swords, seeing no means to get free of them, I then drew my sword to keep them off, if possible I might, until I had obtained quarters of them, *which I did*, and in that posture was taken.

Robert Spotiswood.[1]

LVI. Sir Robert Spottiswoode to Montrose, 19th January 1646.

My Noble Lord,—You will be pleased to accept this last tribute of my service. This people having condemned me to die for my loyalty to his Majesty, and the respect I am known to carry towards your Excellence, which, I believe, hath been the greater cause of the two of my undoing. Always, I hope, by the assistance of God's grace, to do more good to the King's cause, and to the advancement of the service your Excellence hath in hand, by my death, than perhaps otherwise I could have done, being living. For all the rubs and discouragements I perceive your Excellence hath had of late, I trust you will not be disheartened to go on, and crown that work you did so gloriously begin, and had achieved so happily, *if you had not been deserted in the nick.* In the end God will surely set up again his own anointed; and, as I have been confident

[1] The Spottiswoode Papers.

The 'crimes' for which this distinguished and irreproachable judge and statesman was put to death, were, 1st, obeying the orders of his Sovereign, in going to Scotland with a commission to Montrose; 2d, the having become Secretary of State for Scotland, in place of Lanerick; 3d, the having written that letter to Digby (Number XLII.), which was found in his pocket when captured. See his unanswerable but fruitless defence, among the papers printed by his grandson, 1706.

from the beginning, make your Excellence a prime instrument of it. One thing I must humbly recommend to your Excellence, that, *as you have done always hithertill*, so you will continue, by fair and gentle carriage, to gain the people's affection to their Prince, rather than to imitate the barbarous inhumanity of your adversaries, although they give your Excellence too great provocations to follow their example.

Now, for my last request, in hope that the poor service I could do hath been acceptable to your Excellence, let me be bold to recommend the care of my orphans to you; that when God shall be pleased to settle his Majesty in peace, your Excellence will be a remembrancer to him in their behalf; as also in behalf of my brother's house, that hath been, and is mightily oppressed for the same respect. Thus being forced to part with your Excellence, as I lived, so I die, your Excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

Ro. Spotiswood.

St. Andrew's Castle, January 19, 1646.
For the Lord Marquis of Montrose his Excellence.[1]

[1] The Spottiswoode papers.

This letter outweighs all the calumnies ever uttered against Montrose. The Marquis was at this time urged, by some about him, to reprisals upon the prisoners in his hands, as a mode of self-defence. He justified the dying President's eulogy by this reply, recorded in the book which Montrose pressed to his bosom when on the scaffold: "Interea verò, capita nostra licitentur; assassinos conducant; immittant sicarios; fidem faciant, fallantque; *nunquam*, tamen, efficient, ut, æmulatione scelerum, ac non solâ virtutis gloriâ, cum illis contendamus." (Wishart, c. 20.) "Let them put a price on our heads; let them hire assassins to take our lives; let them break their faith; yet never shall we emulate them in wickedness, or seek glory but in virtue." This noble sentence was all founded on facts. For the price on his head see *supra*, p. 163. By an assassination that was eulogised by the Kirk, and rewarded by the State, he had lost his kinsman, Lord Kilpont. See *supra* vol. i., p. 233. Then, in the lifetime both of Montrose and Argyle, Bishop Wishart published, abroad and at home, in Latin and in English, this fact, which never received a contradiction: When Sir William Rollock, who had been sent to the king with the account of the battle of Aberdeen, was returning to Montrose, he was taken prisoner

LVII. Further Proceedings by the Committee of Estates against the Relatives and Friends of Montrose, 1645-6.

I.

Glasgow, 8 November 1645.

The Committee ordains the Constable of the Castle of Edinburgh to deliver Hary Grahame, prisoner in that Castle, unto the Marquis of Argyll, or any having his warrant.[1]

21 November 1645.

The Committee ordains the Provest and Baillies of St Andrews to commit to prison within thair Tolbuith the person of the Laird of Keir, and to keepe him there till they receave further orders.

The Committee allowes the Laird of Keir the 10th of December nixt for bringing his wife from the rebells, in whose company she now is, unto St Andrews.[2]

by the Covenanters. Argyle, instead of putting him to death, endeavoured to induce him to play the same part by Montrose that Stewart of Ardvoirlich had done by Kilpont. To save his own life, Rollock, whose brother, Sir James, was Argyle's most intimate ally (see *supra*, p. 31), seemed to consent. He returned to Montrose, *revealed to him his mission*, and *bade him beware of this tactic of Argyle*. It is impossible that Dr Wishart could have published this story without the most direct authority for the fact.

[1] Number LI. proves, that upon the 9th of November 1645, Montrose had his camp at Kilmahog, on his way through Menteith to Athol. In the Castle of the Blair he still retained a few prisoners of war, some of them *kinsmen to Argyle*. In 1644, the governor of Nantwich (who ought to have been of the Kirk militant) hanged thirteen of Rupert's regiment, on pretext of their being *Irish*. The Prince instantly retaliated by hanging thirteen roundheads. (See Warburton's Cavaliers, ii. 391.) It will be seen *infra* that Argyle negotiated an exchange of this Harry Graham, who was the natural brother of Montrose.

[2] Sir George Stirling of Keir seems to have determined neither to compromise his loyal principles, nor to ruin his estate. He never affected to move a point from those loyal principles. But neither did he ever join (though a young and high-spirited man)

II.

13 December 1645. Warrand in favors of Johne Naper.

The Estates of Parliament haveing considdered the report from the Commission for the process concerneing John Naper, brother to the late Lord Naper, now prisoner in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, they ordain the Magistrates of Edinburgh to cause give to the said Johne Naper twell shillings Scotes a day for interteining him and Sara Naper his wyfe; and ordanes the same to be allowed to them in the first end of the

any party in arms. He had implicitly submitted to all the unjust and illegal impositions of the process against 'The Plotters' in 1641. Yet the mere fact of his being a friend of Montrose, and married to his niece, brought him under the most inquisitorial tyranny of this Committee government. He was released by the Master of Napier after the battle of Kilsyth. Even then, however, he had not joined Montrose, although his father-in-law, Lord Napier, immediately did so. But the above sentence of the Committee reveals an interesting fact. Lady Stirling had accompanied her venerable parent, and doubtless had closed his eyes at Fincastle, in Athol, when he expired there soon after the rout at Philiphaugh. When Montrose returned to the north from the neighbourhood of Glasgow, about the middle of November 1645, he found Lord Napier on his deathbed. Guthry says, 'That nobleman was so very old that he could not have marched with them; yet, in respect of his great wisdom and experience, he might have been very useful in his councils. Montrose took care that his funeral in the kirk of Blair should be performed with due solemnities.' (Mem. p. 208.) Dr Wishart, too, has recorded the event in an elaborate and affecting eulogy, which we have already quoted. See vol. i., p. 2. The last exertion of this nobleman's pen must have been that REMONSTRANCE, in the name of Montrose, which seems to have been intended as the Marquis's public justification, at the Parliament which his sovereign had commissioned him to hold after the battle of Kilsyth. See Introduction to Part III., vol. i., p. 215. These circumstances account for the imprisonment at this time of the persecuted Laird of Keir, and the order upon him to recall Lady Stirling from the 'company of the rebels.' Her brother, Archibald second Lord Napier, was served heir to his father, in the counties of Dumbarton, Edinburgh, Perth, and Stirling, 18th November 1646, about a twelvemonth after the death of his father.

excise. As also ordanes the Generall Commissary presentlie to give to the said Sara Naper twa dollors for hir expensis to carrie her over to her said husband from St Andrews to Edinburgh.[1]

III.

8 January 1646. Ordinance anent James Ogilvie his escape.

The Estates of Parliament being certified, from the Commission for the processes, of the escape of James Ogilvie, late Lord Ogilvie, out of the Castle of St Androis, where he was incarcerat, they approve the orders alreadye emitted theranent be the Commission for the processes, and doe hereby mak offer, and gives assurance, of the reall payment of *ane thousand pundis Sterline* to be payit to anie wha sall bring in the said James Ogilvie, *dead or alyve,* to the Estates of Parliament: And ordanes publict proclamatioune to be made heirof be oppine proclamation efter sound of trumpet at the mercat croce of St Androis. Quairanent thir presentis salbe ane warrand.[2]

[1] See *supra*, p. 208, *note*.

[2] 'Two noblemen, the Earl of Hartfield and Lord Ogilvy, being appointed to suffer first, the night before the execution Ogilvy escaped out of the castle of St Andrews in his sister's clothes, who, in his stead, lay in bed till he was gone; and Argyle, conceiving this to be done by the means of the Hamiltons, in whom Ogilvy had special interest, his mother being daughter of Thomas Earl of Haddington, and himself thereby cousin-german to Crawfurd-Lindsay, therefore, to pay it home, he would needs have the Earl of Hartfield spared, whose death they were thought to thirst after as earnestly as Argyle did Ogilvy's. So, the first that was executed was Sir Robert Spottiswoode, son to the late Archbishop of St Andrews, formerly President of the Session, and now Secretary of State, a man of extraordinary worth and integrity, and against whom, he never having been a swordsman, nothing could be pretended, but that he had lately brought down a commission from his master, the King, to the Marquis of Montrose. After him suffered William Murray, brother to Tullibardine, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Mr Andrew Guthry, son to the Bishop of Murray.'—(Guthry's Memoirs, p. 210.)

IV.

4 February 1746. Reference in favors of Lilias Naper.

Anent the Supplicatione given in to the Estates of Parliament, quherof the tenor follows:

'My verie Honorabill Lords of Parliament, unto your Lordships humblie meanes and supplicates Mistres Lilias Naper, dochter lawfull to *umquhil* Archibald Lord Naper: Wheras my *umquhil* father, out of his fatherlie love and care towardis me, did in his awne lyftyme provyde me, be band, in ane sowme of money for my provision and portione naturall; and now sen his deceis, being destitut of parentis, haveing nothing to look for bot that sowme for the advancement of my fortoun, when it sall please God the samen sall offer, and in the mean tyme nothing bot the interest and proffeit therof to maintene me, and heiring your Lordships is about to dispone my father's estate for the use of the publict,—Heirfore, I maist humblie crave that your Lordships wil be pleased to tak my hard estate and condition to consideratione, and therby prescryve a solide way how I may be secured in the principale sowme for my patrimonie, and of the proffeit and interest therof for my necessarie mantenance in the mean tyme.' Quhilk Supplicatione being red in audience of the Parliament, and the same with the desyre therof tane in consideratione be the Estates of Parliament, They declare they will grant maintenance to the said Mistress Lilias Naper, Suppliant; And for this effect they remitt and recommend the same to the Committee of Moneyes, to be tane in consideration be them, and to do therein as they think fit.[1]

[1] See *supra*, p. 210, *note*.

LVIII. Ten Letters from Montrose to Huntly relative to the Conduct of the War in the Months of December, January, and February, 1645-6.

I.

My Lord,—I receaved your Lordships, and doe congratulatt your goode beginings, which I hope shall make a leadding cace to you in all those parts.[1] As for what your Lordship remembers of Siafort, it will be a very void attemp, iff he intend it; for tho I were not most assured of Makdonald, yett, you being before him, he shall fynd me aneuff, alone, behinde his hand; nether doe I think, tho he wer able, he wold ever be found guilty of so much resolution.[2] I heir nothing of any enemy, bot lookes hourly for advertisements from all hands; att which tyme you shall receave ane more full account from your Lordships most humble servant,

Montrose.

Kinermeny,[3] 23 December 1645.

For my nobell Lord the Marquise of Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant of these Northerne pairts.

[1] Montrose must have written this complimentary sentence with a very sarcastic feeling. See *supra*, p. 237. Huntly was now by way of commencing operations as the King's Lieutenant be-north the Grampians. But so feeble, useless, and behind the time were his loyal efforts, that the 'good beginnings,' and 'leading case,' for which Montrose commends him as if he were a froward child, are not to be recognized in history at all. See note at the end of this series of letters.

[2] Montrose was fully justified in this severe comment upon Seaforth. See *supra*, p. 174, *note*. But he was mistaken in his expectations from his former ally, Sir Allaster Macdonnel, who never returned to the standard. Montrose had knighted him immediately before his ungrateful desertion.

[3] Kinnermony is a district on the Spey, in Banffshire. Huntly had just crossed that river at Gordon Castle, and was plumming himself on his attempts against some castles in Morayshire. Montrose, whose present policy was not to interfere with his rival's commission as the King's Lieutenant be-north the Grampians, was watching him, smoothing him, complimenting him, urging him, and biting his nails all the while.

II.

My Lord,—I had yeasternight some advertisements from the South, wherin the Prince of Wailles victory is fully confirmed; and ane other relaited for certaine which hes beane gained by those of Newarke, wherin David Lesly wes soundly swinged, and come of bot with nyne horse, and fled to Newcastell. The Lords Livingston, Montgomery, and Sinclaire ar taken, and to be brought to ther Parliament for some plott they had for the King. I hope, be all appearance, you shall heave Siafort *very cheape;* for on Cornell Hay, who wes in my compagny, desyred leave of me to goe doune to Murray, to sei some off his freinds ther, and wes lyke to beane snapt by the garrison of Innerness; bot Siafort, as they say, tooke his protexion. I heave heard nothing from the man himself; bot what is in it your Lordship will heave better occasion to learne, and make your aune use. Which is all for the present can be told your Lordship by your most humble servant,

Montrose.

Aduy,[1] 29 December 1645.

For my nobell Lord the Marquise of Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant of the Northerne pairts.

[On the margin.] Ther ar ten thonsand men a-coming from Irland, to be landed at Chester, over who the Lord Herbert is Generall; and, they say, therafter they will send some heir; which I pray God they doe.

[1] This letter is dated from 'Aduy,'—doubtless the same as *Advy*, or *Adwie*,—a district of the Grants, on the banks of the Spey, in Cromdale. Moutrose seems to have been misinformed both as to the success of the Prince of Wales, and the *sound swingeing* given to David Lesly. Not a gleam of good fortune visited the Standard again, after the battle of Naseby, which occurred on the 14th of June 1645. The King, in the months of November and December of that year, was writing most anxious and affecting letters to his son, urging his timely departure out of the kingdom. His letter

III.

My Nobell Lord,—Being advertised by the laird of Glengary that he hes given your Lordship assurance that Siafort will come in, and joyne for his Majesties service, and that we should be spairing with his interests, and heave no neide to advance against him, I must by thes intreat to know at your Lordship what is in it. Withall I heave directed on to Glengary to know what ar his grounds for giveing your Lordship so much assurance. And, meanetyme, I wish to know your Lordships judgement anent the delay. For if Siafort be really to come in, it shall hold us in much tyme and peanes. If not, he is not able to stand our advance. Bot iff he be willing, it is better he *come in att the slape to us*, nor we should *goe over the dyke to him*. So wishing your Lordship all happynes, and goode fortune, I am your Lordships most humble servand,

Montrose.

Ballacastell,[1] 31 December 1645.

For my most nobell Lord The Marquise off Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant in thes Northerne parts.

[On the margin.] My Lord, during your Lordships absence I gave ane order to Credells, for saising of that house which is now in his custody; and iff you shall be pleased to continue him in it, I dare promise he will deserve the trust, and meritt your favour.

of the 7th of November, dated at Oxford, concludes thus:—'As for Scotland and Ireland, I forbid you either, until you shall have perfect assurance that peace be concluded in the one, or that the Earl of Montrose, in the other, be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is not now. So God bless you. Your loving father, Charles R.' On the 7th of December he again writes, commanding the Prince to transport himself into Denmark. Had Charles mistrusted the Scots as much for himself as he did for his son, England might have been saved from the greatest, and Scotland from the meanest, of her crimes. See these Letters in Clarendon's History.

[1] 'Ballacastell' is the old name for Castle Grant.

IV.

My Nobell Lord,—It being necessary we should now take the oportunity of the saison, and imploy the tyme that so favorably offereth unto us, I heave directed this bearer to acquynt your Lordship with my thoughts of the busynes, and to know your Lordships aune opinion. For it concernes us now *really to fall to worke.* I am your Lordships most humble servand,

Montrose.

Strethspey, 10 January 1646.

For my Nobell Lord the Marquise off Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant of thes Northerne parts.

V.

My Nobell Lord,—My last, and those Gentilmen I directed to attend your Lordship, heave exprest my thoughts so fully, as I heave nothing to add. As for that particular of Cornell Hay, ther ar littell to be built on that confidence; for he is a weale meaneing man, and thinkes evry on should be als honest as himself. He desyred, indeide, leave of me (in regaird he claimes great intrest in Siafort) to use his aune endevors, in ane inderect way, and that he wold work wonders. Bot I fynd no effect earthy from it; which must make us the rather hold to our ould grounds. Which is all for the tyme can be told your Lordship, by your Lordships most humble servand,

Montrose.

Strethspey, 12 January 1646.

For my Nobell Lord the Marquise off Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant of thes Northerne parts.

VI.

My Lord,—I receaved your Lordships, and does heartely thanke you for the hopes you give me off the Lord Ogilvys liberty, which does confirme me in the expectations I had that something wold be done theraway, which I beleive will occasion the enemys march thither. As for Siafort, Gleugary is very confident that he will prove right; bot few dayes will now put it to the prooffe, whither so or otherwayes. Meanewhylle heaveing no further to trouble your Lordship withall, I am your Lordships most humble servand,

Montrose.

Kaillochy, 25 January 1646.

For my Nobell Lord the Marquise of Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant of thes Northerne pairts.[1]

[1] Lord Ogilvy made his escape from the Castle of St Andrews upon the night of the 19th of January 1645, the eve of his intended execution. It was generally believed that this was effected through connivance of the Hamilton party, Ogilvy's mother being a Hamilton. Argyle, it is said, who was willing to have extirpated the House of Airley, revenged himself by withdrawing from the scaffold the Earl of Hartfell, whose death, on the other hand, would have been agreeable to the Hamiltons. See *supra*, p. 258, *note*. Argyle was not a man to do good by stealth, but he might do it out of spite. It would appear, from his expressions to Huntly, that Montrose had anticipated some influence to work in favour of Ogilvy. As he speaks, however, of the event causing 'the enemy's march thither,' it is probable that Huntly had announced the fact of Ogilvy's escape, which Montrose, not being assured of his perfect safety, only regarded as 'hopes of the Lord Ogilvy's liberty.' See *supra*, p. 258, and *note*. It is much to be regretted that none of Huntly's letters to Montrose have been recovered. The above letter, it will be observed, is dated from 'Kaillochy,' a place in Strathdern. Montrose had shifted his quarters from the Strath of the Spey, to the Strath of the Findhorn, nearer Inverness, where he remained for some time, waiting in vain for Huntly.

VII.

My Lord,—Being told by Cornell Stuart, that it wes your Lordships desyre I should leave those of the name of Grant to goe alongst with you, I wold not suffer on of them, att my parting thence, to come with me hither. Bot now understanding they keipe most of them all ther homes, and heaving lykwayes bot few with me heir for the present, I thought goode to acquynt your Lordship with the expedieney that I should call hither only a few of them that ar att home, who otherwayes wold be usefull to nether off us.[1] And, how soone my folkes ar a littell better conveined, your Lordship shall still heave them upon the least advertisement: for I am so littell curious of numbers as I desyre non bot for necessity; for more is bot superfluos, and a trouble. So, longing to know of your Lordships wealfaire, and goode occurrence, I am your Lordships most humble servand,

Montrose.

Kaillochie, 1 February 1646.

For my nobell Lord the Marquise off Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant of thes Northerne pairts.

VIII.

My Lord,—The Laird of Glengary come to me laitly, and shewt me that all those Hilanders had ane generall randezvous with the Earle of Siafort, the 29 of this last by-past (for joyneing themselfs to his Majesties service), wher he wes also to fynd himself. So, heaveing gone, he

[1] This is a slight illustration of Huntly's jealous and ruinous control of Montrose's operations, and of the forbearance and temper with which Montrose met it.

tells me the meatting did not hold; bot that my Lord Siafort is busyly gathering, and makeing all the dispatch he can. Wherof I am heartely glaide, for it shall save us much tyme and trouble. Upon the directing of my last to your Lordship, I writ also to Grant for some of his men. Bot since the receat of your Lordships returne (werwithall I am heartely satisfyed), I heave send him contrary orders, and willed that all his men should repaire to your Lordship, and that I wold not heave on of them to come to me att this dyett. So they can pretend nothing that way. Heaveing no further for the present to trouble your Lordship withall, I am your Lordships most humble and faithfull servand,

MONTROSE.

Kaillochie, 6 February 1646.

For my Nobell Lord the Marquise of Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant of thes Northerne pairts.

IX.

MY LORD,—Since my last I heave receaved no further occurrence; only, the list of prissoners, taken att this lait feight,[1] was loosed be the

[1] Montrose here refers to a victory gained, on the 13th of February, by his friend Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, over the remnant of Argyle's clan; and this was coincident with a desperate adventure of his nephew, Lord Napier, and the destruction of the Marquis's castle, and favourite residence, Kincardine. It is thus minutely narrated by Bishop Guthry:—

'After which (the adjournment of Parliament upon the 4th of Febrnary 1646), the Chancellor, Balmerino, and Warriston, began their journey for London; as also did the Marquis of Argyle his for Ireland; where, before he had passed by Stirling, he encountered there his few country-people, who had out-lived Inverlochy and Kilsyth, in a very sad posture: Whereof the occasion was this. They having, at Macdonald's settling in Argyle, retired to corners, and lurked until hunger forced them to come out, Arkinglass drew them together, they being abont twelve-hundred, and brought them down towards Monteith, to have lived upon my Lord Napier's tenants, and other

carier by the way. Bot I am certainely informed, by those who comes from thence, that ther ar a 16 or 20 taken; amongst who, James Stuart,

malignants. But Inchbrakie, happening to be in Athol at this time, brought down seven-hundred Athol-men, and fell upon them at Callander; Where, at the first, they fled all like mad-men, divers of them being slain in the flight, and more drowned in the water of Guddie, their haste being such that they staid not to seek for fords. The rest who escaped made no halt, until they had crossed the water of Forth at the Drip, and arrived near Stirling, where the Marquis of Argyle found them: And not knowing how to dispose better of them, he carried them with him to the shire of Renfrew, expecting that in those parts, where all people were furious in the cause, they should have been welcomed. But the contrary fell out: Their neighbourhood was so displeasing to them, that presently they threatened to take arms, and cut them down, unless they were removed: Whereupon, he sent them over to the Lenox, to quarter upon the Lord Napier's lands, and other loyalists in those parts; where they lived the more securely, Inchbrakie and his Athol-men being gone for the north, to attend Montrose. Thereafter the Marquis of Argyle prosecuted his journey to Ireland; and the first fright his people had, though it came not near them, was a report that the young Lord Napier, the laird of Macnab, and John Drummond of Balloch, with a foot company, had fortified Kincardine, Montrose's principal house; which indeed was true. Whereupon Middleton drew his army thither; and, upon refusal to surrender, brought a number of great ordnance from Stirling Castle, to batter the house. They held out *for fourteen days;* until the noise of the cannon had so dried up the water, that they had none either for man or horse. Whereupon they were forced to think upon another course: And so, at midnight, the moon being set, the Lord Napier, and Balloch, with John Graham, the Lord Napier page who only knew the way, leading out three horses at a private postern, mounted the same without any noise, rode through their guards, and safely escaped their hands. The rest did, the next morning, surrender upon capitulation; which being done, thirty-five of them were sent away prisoners to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; and the remnant, being twelve in number, were presently shot at a post. And then Middleton ordered the Castle of Kincardine to be burnt; which was done upon the sixteenth day of March 1646.'—(Memoirs, p. 213.)

There is little doubt that Lord Napier would have perished as well as Montrose's castle, had he not defended, and saved himself, with the martial energy, and romantic spirit of daring adventure, which even yet is manifested, by sea and land, in some of his lineal descendants. His companion, young Drummond of Balloch, was the son of his father's sister. Montrose's proper

that murdered the Lord Kilpunt, is on; and on Makondochy of the Reau (Argyles great champion) another. I heir also for certaine (bot not by any express) that the Lord Ogilvye is joyned with them, and Makdonald also, and that they ar all presently towards Glasgow. As further comes to my knowledg your Lordship shall receave it from your Lordships most humble servand,

MONTROSE.

Kaillochie, 18 February 1646.

For my nobell Lord the Marquise off Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant off thes Northerne pairts.

X.

MY LORD,—Heaveing received this inclosed (both for what concernes your Lordship and the wealebeing of his Majesties service) I could not bot lett it come to your hands, being confident that your Lordship will make the fitting use; and esteime me your Lordships most humble servand,

MONTROSE.

Kaillochie, 20 February 1646.

For my nobell Lord the Marquise of Huntly,
His Majesties Lieutenant of these Northerne pairts.[1]

estimate of the manner in which Lord Kilpont's death (so highly applauded by Argyle and the Kirk) was effected, will be seen from the above letter. But I have not been able to discover that the murderer was captured, as Montrose had been informed.

[1] This, and all the preceding letters of Montrose to Huntly (including Number XLVI.) are from the originals, autograph of Montrose, which have been preserved in the Gordon archives. They were placed at the Editor's disposal by the kindness and liberality of his Grace the Duke of Richmond; and they are now, for the first time, brought to light and printed. The bearing of these letters upon the relative position of Montrose and Huntly at this crisis, is explained in the Introduction to this Part.

LIX. Montrose to Maclean of Coll, 20th January 1646.

Sir,—I must heartely thank you for your willingness and good affection to his Majesties service, and particularly the sending along of your sons (John and Hugh) to whom I will have ane particular respect. Hope we also, that you will continue ane good instrument for the advancing there of the King's service. For which, and all your former loyal carriages, be confident that you shall fynd the effect of his Majesties favor, as they can be witnessed by

Your very faithful friend,

Montrose.

Strathearn, 20th January 1646.[1]

LX. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 8th February 1646.

Inver,—As I wreitt to you formerlie, whereunto I have resaved no answere, albeit I have long expected and oft requyred it, I can not sufficientlie admire what can be the reasone wherfor I have not hard from you this long tym by past; having sent you so frequent advertisments,

[1] This letter is found in a family memoir entitled 'An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Clan Maclean, by a Seneachiè:' published in London 1838. Mistaking the name of the place where the above letter is dated, the author (p. 139) says: 'Montrose fell back upon Perthshire, and appointed Strathearn as the place of rendezvous for the Highland Clans.' But Strathearn, in Perthshire, was not Montrose's locality in the month of January 1646. He was then encamped at Kaillochy, in *Strathdern* (which means the strath of the *Findhorn*), as the other letters in our text prove. The author, from whom the above letter is derived, says that it was addressed to John Garve, the seventh laird of Coll, whom he describes (p. 309) as 'A man of considerable piety, a good scholar, and a great lover of music: a Captain Wirttus, who visited him, said he *much resembled King David*, being a great reader of the Holy Scriptures, and a noble player on the harp.'

and you having daylie occasiones. Alwayes, I will say no more, untill I hear from you what can be the occasione therof. Wherfor, these ar to will and requyr you, that immediatlie efter sight heirof, you will advertise me with all possible diligence. I rest,

MONTROSE.

Kyllachie, 8 February 1646.[1]

LXI. JAMES KENNEDY, MONTROSE'S SECRETARY, TO ROBERTSON OF INVER, 8th February 1646.

SIR,—I can not bot advertise you that I have not sein the Marquis of Montrose so discontent, since ever I knew him, as he is presentlie with yours, and others, negligence in Atholl, in not acquenting him, these sex weiks bypast, with the estait and conditione of maters there, albeit he hath wreatin to you oftin formerlie. Wherfor you will doe weill for yourselfs to post bak ane expresse bearer, with all possible diligence; and to acquaint him with all occurrents in your countrey or elsewher; and to wreat your owne excuse for so long delaying.[2]

As for occurrents here, we be in good hoopes that Seafort, Sir James M'Donald, and M'Loyd, shall joyne to the Kings service with all ther forces, in all haist: for they have given all the assurances, both be word and wreat, that can be asked. They ar to have ane randevow of all ther forces, on Weddinsday nixt, in Rosse, within fourtein myles of this countrey, and therefter to come along to my Lord Marquis. The Marquis of Huntly doeth still lye besciging the hous of Lethin in Murray, which we be confident he shall gaine once this weik.[3] The enemies

[1] Original, in possession of B. Nightingale, Esq., London.

[2] In the letter from Lord Glamis to Inver (*supra*, p. 206), there is an obvious indication of an attempt on the part of Argyle to establish an interest in that quarter, which might well excite Montrose's jealousy and alarm, if he were aware of it.

[3] Lethin was a castle belonging to the covenanting laird of Brodie, into which he

forces lye still at Aberdein, not exceiding aucht hundreth foott, and thrie hundreth horses.[1] The young laird of Drum hath beatin up one of ther quarters near by the toune of Aberdein, and killed and taken prisoners above ane hundreth horsmen; gottin all ther horses and armes.. Some of the Marquis of Huntlyes forces, and Harthill, with

had thrown himself, with some of his friends and followers, when Huntly commenced operations in Morayshire, at the close of the year 1645. During the whole period of Montrose's correspondence with him (Number LVIII), Huntly, much to the distress and disgust of the former, persisted in his siege of this comparatively unimportant place, instead of joining forces against Inverness, near which Montrose meanwhile was hovering with that object in view. Huntly had with him fourteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse. Montrose had but eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse. An immediate and vigorous combination of these forces, which were within hail of each other, and with nothing to separate them but the jealousy of Huntly, must have insured the complete success of this campaign. Montrose, whose opinions (after all that had come and gone) ought to have commanded instant obedience, and entire confidence, had intended, and continued to urge, first, the taking of Inverness, and second, a rapid movement against General Middleton, whom the Estates had commissioned with a new army to quell the loyalty of Scotland. Huntly, only bent on asserting the independence of his own commission, which he never adorned with a laurel, wasted the most precious time and energies before this insignificant place. Wishart says that he remained ten weeks before Lethin, lost some of his best men, and 'was forced with dishonour to raise the siege, when he was never the nearer.' Patrick Gordon (Britain's Distemper, p. 179), whose attempt to excuse his chief is as weak as it was natural, says, that Huntly took Leithin, after this long siege. The fact is not worth the trouble of investigation. Unquestionably Huntly paralyzed Montrose, and saved Inverness, and Middleton. There cannot be a doubt, that if he had conducted himself, even at this eleventh hour, in the true spirit of loyalty, and of Montrose, the cause in the north would have been triumphant, the King at least safe in the hands of the Scottish army, that nation rescued from the disgrace of selling him, and Huntly's own head from the shambles of the Covenant.

[1] This was part of Middleton's army, under Colonels Montgomery and Barelay. Middleton himself had meanwhile gone to seek that portion of Montrose's army which had defeated the Campbells on Lord Napier's lands in Menteith. This detour occupied the Covenanting General until the 16th of March 1646, when he destroyed Montrose's Castle of Kincardine. See *supra*, p. 267, *note*.

diverse others, have at severall occasiones cutted of ane other hundreth horsmen to them; which is all I can wreat for the present.

Ther wes much expected of your countrey of Atholl this tym bypast. Bot it is lyk to prove as *ane hair frost to lowp in the air againe*.[1] I wish your people may disapoynt the comone opinione of all men heir. And thus, my service remembered to the laird of Inchbrakie, to the Tutor of Strowan, your brother Kincragie, and yourself, I shall still remaine

Your affectionat freind and servand,

Mr J. Kennedy.

Kyllachie in Straerne,[2] 8 February 1646.[3]

LXII. Montrose to the Earl of Aboyne, 15th March 1646.

My Lord,—Heaveing reccaved, yesternight, ane desyre from your Lordship, by Alexander Gordone, sone to Arnadoule, that I should advance and joyne with you to feight the enemy, who wer presently on ther march, and the gentilman being hardly able to make your Lordships intention be comprehended,[4] (in regaird you favoured the busynes with no letter), I have desyred the bearer heiroff, Sir Jhon Turring, to wait upon your Lordship, that I may be more fully informed of the course.

[1] At this time Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie was absent from Montrose's head quarters. He had been sent to recruit in Athol, and then made his successful dash against the Campbells in Menteith, as already noted. That brilliant affair only occurred on the 13th of February, and afforded a good answer to the secretary's misgivings as to the Athol recruits. Montrose alludes to it in his letter of the 18th of February. See *supra*, p. 266, and *note*.

[2] This means the strath of the *Ern*, commonly called the *Findhorn*. See *supra*, p. 269, *note*.

[3] Original, in possession of Henry F. Holt, Esq., London. See Introduction to this Part, as to Mr James Kennedy, Montrose's secretary. He fell into the hands of the enemy, near Inverness, not long after the date of the above letter.

[4] It will be seen, by the extract from Aboyne's answer, noted at the end of Montrose's letter to him, that it was not the Earl's intention to be very explicit.

Your Lordship knows it is thri or four months since I desyred the same, very earnestly (by Cornell Stuart and Captaine Tours, who I directed to my Lord your father for the same end). Nether ar ther any thing in the world I so much passion. Wherfor my earnest desyre to your Lordship is, that you will be pleased to lett me know your strength, and what forces you can assure me off; as lykwayes the certaine dyett which your Lordship is, undoubtedly, to hold; and that your Lordship wold be particular in it, that I may be informed from your aune hand; assureing your Lordship that you shall be fully satisfyed, in all points, by your Lordships very humble servand,

MONTROSE.

Pette, 15 March 1646.

For my very honorabell Lord
The Earl of Aboyne.

[Docqueted in a contemporary hand,] *Turn Over:*

My Lord Aboyne's Answer to the former letter:

MY LORD,—Thee treuthe is, I severall tymes have heard ther was muche suspicion of scruple betwixt your Lordship and my father anent thee present cariage of his Majesties service; which mad mee, least it might perhapes have reached even to your Lordship, send that gentilman towardes you, bothe to assur your Lordship of our willingnes, and lykwayes of my earnest desyr to kisse your handes in these partes, wher I may, as formerlie, wait upon you. As for Colonel Steuart, and Toueres message, this peaper is scarce able to carie that satisfaction which I wisse to give of it. I therfor leave it till meeting. Our strength, I mak no question, is sufficientlie knowen to your Lordship; and I dar say wee shal bee strong eneughe for all thee enimie wee hear of as yet in thes pairtes;

and I houp no good fellow will bee wanting hathe ever shewed his face in thee busines.[1] Our general rendezvous is to bee in Marr, upon thee 19th of this instant. However, I shal bee heer to morow all day expecting your Lordships commandes; and lykwayes send to thee other sid of thee river, that they may, as farr as they can, apply themselves to your Lordships dyet. (*Thee rest of thee letter concerned not this purpose.*) *Subscribitur*, your Lordships most affectionat and humble servand,

ABOYNE.

Elgin, 15 Marche, at 5 a clock at night.[2]

LXIII. KING CHARLES I. TO MONTROSE, 18th April, 1646.

MONTROSE,—Having, upon the engagement of the French king, and queen Regent, made an agreement to join with my Scots subjects now before Newark, and being resolved upon the first opportunity to put myself into that army,—they being reciprocally engaged, by the intervention of Mons. de Montreuil, the said king's Resident, now in the said army, to join with me and my forces, and to assist me in the procuring a happy peace,—I have thought it necessary to acquaint you herewith (being here so close begirt as without much hazard and dif-

[1] What face did Aboyne himself show at Philiphaugh? Could Montrose read this letter of his without that bitter reflection passing through his mind?

[2] Original, Gordon Papers, in possession of his Grace the Duke of Richmond. See *supra*, p. 268, *note;* and the Introduction to this Part. Montrose was now at Petty, on the coast between Elgin and Inverness. His anxiety to humour Huntly may be seen in the very temperate, and even deferential tone of his former letters. From this one, however, we learn (in confirmation both of Wishart and Guthry) that *for months* he had been urging his jealous rival to some efficient plan of co-operation, and in vain. It is interesting to observe, that this exchange of missives, with Aboyne, occurred on the very day at the close of which his nephew, Lord Napier, and young Drummond of Balloch, escaped from his beleaguered Castle of Kincardine, which was reduced to a ruin the next day by General Middleton.

ficulty I cannot suddenly break from hence to come to them), desiring you, if you shall find, by the said De Montreuil, that my Scots army have really declared for me, and that you be satisfied by him that there is by them [not only] an *amnestia* of all that hath been done by you, and those who have adhered unto me, but very hearty, sincere, friendly and honourable resolutions in them for whatsoever concerns your person and party,—that then you take them by the hand, and use all possible diligence to unite your forces with theirs for the advancement of my service, as if I were there in person; and I doubt not but you, being joined, will be able to relieve me here, in case I shall not find any possible means to come to you, which shall be still endeavoured with all earnestness by yours,

CHARLES R.

[Oxford], 18th April 1646.[1]

[1] Endorsed, 'A copy by Mr Edgman.' Clarendon Papers, vol. ii., p. 224. The following interesting, but melancholy memorandum, endorsed by the Secretary Nicholas,—'A note written with the king's own pen concerning his going to the Scots,"—is among the Evelyn Papers: 'Freedom in conscience and honour, and security for all those that shall come with me; and, in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set down at such of my garrisons as I shall name to them; which condition I hope not to put them too; for I shall not differ with them about ecclesiastical businesses which they shall make appear to me *not to be against my conscience:* and for other matters, I expect no difference; and in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two queens. And before I take my journey, I must send to the Marquis of Montrose, to advertise him upon what conditions I come to the Scots' army, *that he may be admitted forthwith into our conjunction, and instantly march up to us.*'

The letter in the text was sent, in cypher, through Secretary Nicholas, to Monsieur Montreville, the French agent in this miserable negotiation. He was instructed to use his discretion as to transmitting it to Montrose, which, of course, was not done. The kingly tone, the just sense which it indicates of what was due to Montrose, and to the gallant men who had so long and constantly supported the Standard in Scotland, contrasts sadly with the communication dated one month later, when Charles found himself a prisoner in the hands of the most worthless of his enemies, without security even for his own life. See Number LXVI.

LXIV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver, 20th April 1646.

Ordoures for John Robertsone, Captaine of the Castle of Blair, in Atholl.

That wheras, Captaine Campbell, Captaine Stewart, and the laird of Gaske, Olyphant, are to be exchanged for Collonell John Ogilvye, Harie Græme,[1] and any other whom my lord Ogilvye shall appoynt, these are therfor to will you to set Captaine Campbell at libertye, that he may procure the forsaid exchange, providing he subscribe this note, and promise faithfullie to performe what is conteened in it. Given at our campe, Castle Stewart, 20 April 1646.

Montrose.[2]

LXV. Montrose to Robertson of Inver.

Prisoners to be delyvered furth of the Castell of Blair by John Robertsone.

Campbell of Pennymore.
Silvercraige.
Livetennent Cleiland.
Two M'Laghlans.
Colen Campbell, brother to Cruinan.

Montrose.[3]

[1] The natural brother of Montrose. See *supra*, p. 206.

[2] Original, in possession of B. Nightingale, Esq., London. This order, among the last issued by Montrose relating to his prisoners of war, is dated from Castle Stuart, in the parish of Petty, Inverness-shire.

[3] Original, in the Editor's possession. There is no date to this scrap, which is in the handwriting of Mr James Kennedy, Montrose's secretary, and signed by the Marquis. But the date must have been subsequent to that letter to Inver, in which he conveys a hint to *Campbell of Crinan*, that, possibly, he might be provoked to reprisals. See *supra*, p. 205, *note*.

LXVI. King Charles I. to Montrose, 19th May 1646.

Montrose,—I am in such a condition as is much fitter for relation than wryting. Wherfor, I refer you to this trusty bearer, Robin Car, for the reasons, and maner, of my coming to this army; as also, what my treatment hath been since I came, and my resolutions upon my whole business. This shall therfor only give you positife comands, and tell you reall treuths, leaving the *why* of all to this bearer. You must disband your forces, and goe into France, where you shall receave my further directions. This at first may justly startle you; but, I asseur you, that if, for the present, I should offer to doe more for you, I could not doe so much; and that you shall alwais fynde me

Your most assured, constant, reall, faithfull frend,

Charles R.

Newcastell, 19 May 1646.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This letter was delivered to the Viceroy in Scotland, upon the last day of the month in which it was written. The complete failure of Montreville's crude attempt to effect an honourable and safe retreat for the King, upon the assumed integrity of the prevalent faction in Scotland, is well known. The history of that affair completely justifies those expressions, in the dispatch from Inverlochy, which have been pronounced *rash* by some historians, far more rash in their records than ever was Montrose in his counsels:—'Though God forbid I should stint your Majesty's mercy, yet I must declare *the horror I am in*, when I think of a treaty while your Majesty and they are in the field with two armies, unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your Majesty's goodness and pardon.' See *supra*, p. 178. This was no vain or intemperate exclamation, but a well-weighed and far-sighted remonstrance. When, however, Montreville had failed, and was even cautioning the King against the very measure he had attempted to negotiate, Cromwell or Argyle was the only choice left. Upon the 27th of April 1646, Charles made his escape to the Covenanters. But ere the letter in the text was written, he had been made to feel that he was helpless in their hands, struggling for his life, and compelled to issue their orders under his own authority.

LXVII. Montrose to King Charles I. 2d June 1646.

May it Please your Sacred Majesty,—I receaved your Majesties, by this gentillman, the bearer, Lieutenant Cornell Ker, carying,—Your Majesties being att Newcastell; togither with your Majesties pleasure for disbanding of all forces; and my owne repaire abroad. For the first, I shall not presume to canvasse; bot humbly acquiess in your Majesties resolutions.[1] As for that of present disbanding, I am lykwayes, in all humility, to rander obedience; (as never heaveing had, nor heaveing any thing earthly before my eyes, bot your Majesties service; as all my cariages heave hitherto, and shall att this tyme witness:) Only, I must humbly beg your Majestie to be pleased considder, that ther ar nothing remembred concerning the immunity off those who heave beane upon your service; that all deids, in ther prejudice, be reduced; and those of them who stay att home, enjoy ther lyves and propertyes without being questioned; for such as goe abroad, that they heave all freidome off transport; as also that all prissoners be released, so that no characters of what hes happened remaine. For, when all is done that we can, I am much affraid, that it shall trouble both those ther with your Majestie, and all your servands heir, to quit thir pairts. And as for my aune leaveing this kingdome, I shall, in all humility and obedience, endevoure to performe your Majesties command, wishing (rather nor any should make pretext of me), never to see it againe with myne eyes; willing, alsweale by *passion*, as *action*, to witness myself your Majesties most humble, and most faithful, subject and servand,

Montrose.

Strethspey, 2 Juin 1646.

[Endorsed.] *Receaved*, 13 June 1646.[2]

[1] Montrose here refers to the fact of the King having committed himself to the tender mercies of the Covenanting army and their Commissioners. His real opinion of that step is scarcely disguised by his dutiful expression of acquiescence.

[2] This affecting and noble letter, in which Montrose, under all the painful and exciting

LXVIII. King Charles I. to Montrose, 15th June 1646.

Montrose,—I asseur you, that I no lesse esteeme your willingness to lay doune armes, at my command, for a gallant and reall expression of your zeall and affection to my service, then any of your former actions. But I hope that you cannot have so meane an opinion of me, that, for any particular or worldly respects, I could suffer you to be ruined. No: I avow that it is one of the greatest, and truest, markes of my present miseries, that I cannot recompence you according to your deserts; but, on the contraire, must yet suffer a cloud of the misfortune of the tymes to hing over you. Wherfor I must interpret those expressions, in your letter, concerning yourselfe, to have only relation to your owen generosity; for you cannot but know, that they ar contrair to my unalterable

reflections which the sad crisis must have called up, sustains, with such unruffled dignity, the perfect legality, propriety, and moral elevation of his own position, as the champion of the Crown, has only now been recovered from the Archives of the House of Hamilton, and is here printed for the first time. See Preface and Introduction to this Part. The ill-fated monarch, though now aware that he had rashly thrown himself into the arms of a mean and faithless faction, was even yet not so fully awake to the imminent danger in which the fatal move had placed the supporters of the Standard in Scotland, as was Montrose. Probably the king had imagined that the permission to retain their lives, and retire abroad, would be a matter of easy negotiation, and certain fulfilment. Montrose knew better. He foresaw that even if that matter were formally negotiated, still, under one pretext or another, the counsels of the Covenant would effect the intercepting of those for whose blood the Kirk thirsted. As for himself he well knew, that however he might be conditioned for, and seem to be saved in treaty, his life was not worth an hour's purchase, if possibly he could be reached by those to whom the king had intrusted himself, and whose dealings were without honour, as their judgments were without mercy. And hence, in at once submitting to the order of exile, Montrose uses the remarkable expression, that he would *endeavour* to perform his Majesty's command. The event justified the doubt. The earnest and characteristic declaration with which he concludes, that he was willing to prove his devotion even by martyrdom—by *passion* as well as *action*—was also fulfilled.

resolutions; which, I asseure you, I nether conceall nor minse. For there is no man (who ever hard me speake of you) that is ignorant, that the reason which makes me, at this tyme, send you out of the country, is, that you may returne home with the greater glory; and in the meane tyme to have as honorable an imployment as I can put upon you. This trusty bearer, Robin Car, will tell you the care I have had of all your frends, and myne; to whom albeit I cannot promis such conditions as I would, yet they will be such as (all things considered) ar most fitt for them to accept. Wherfor, I renew my former directions, of laying doune armes, unto you; desyring you to lett Huntly, Crawford, Airly, Seafort, and Ogleby know, that want of tyme hath made me now omitt to reiterate my former comands to them; intending that this shall serve for all; asseuring [them], and all the rest of my frends, that whensoever God shall enable me, they shall [reap] the fruits of theire loyalty and affection to my service. So I rest

Your most asseured, constant, reall, faithfull frend,

CHARLES R.[1]

Newcastell, 15 June 1646.

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest.

This letter is obviously the rejoinder to that just recovered from the Hamilton Archives. The two are now for the first time brought together. According to Wishart's narrative, Montrose anxiously inquired of the King, by letter, whether he thought himself safe in the hands of the Covenanters, and really and truly desired his adherents to disband, or, on the contrary, required aid from them in his present condition. As nothing of this appears in his letter now printed, that might seem to contradict a statement published immediately after these events, by Montrose's own chaplain. But the discrepancy is explained by Guthry, whose narrative is a little more explicit. 'The King,' he says, 'for making good his letter to the Committee, dispatched Robert Ker to Montrose, Huntly, and Macdonald, for laying down their arms. The two last refused; but Montrose professed his readiness to obey his Majesty's pleasure, so soon as conditions should be agreed upon, and warranted Robert Ker to make that report to the King.' This is proved by the letter now produced, and which the narrative by Wishart does not specially mention. Guthry, however, adds, in confirmation of the other Bishop, 'Likewise Montrose wrote privately, by *another bearer*, to his Majesty, that if the command had been extorted

LXIX. Montrose to the Tutor of Strowan, 10th June 1646.

Assured Freind,—Being informed that you have presentlie all your regiment in redines at ane head, these are therfor to will you, immediatelie after sight heirof, to repair to us with all possible dilligence; till when, I remitt all other particulars, and continues

Your assured friend,

Montrose.

Glenshie, 10 Junij 1646.

For the Tutor of Strowan.[1]

from him, he would keep up his army, and hoped to force them in whose hands he was, to do their duty to him; but if the command was spontaneous, so that his Majesty esteemed it might be for his advantage that he should obey, in that case he would do it upon any terms, though never so hard for himself; and humbly besought his Majesty to signify his secret will by the same bearer to him.' (Memoirs, p. 219.) The fate of this more private communication, which has not been recovered, is unknown. Possibly it never reached the King. Wishart says that the only answer which Montrose received were those insolent and unreasonable Articles of treaty, sent him by the rebel faction, and which he rejected, because not authorized by his Majesty. And this statement is confirmed by the terms of the next letter from the King. See Number LXX.

[1] Original, Strowan charter-chest. This summons must have been in consequence of the orders just received from the King. Donald Robertson, Tutor of Strowan (the chief being a minor), was among the first and most efficient and faithful supporters of the Standard in Scotland. See *supra*, p. 156, for a very graphic notice of him. The letter in the text was kindly communicated by James Robertson, Esq., Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney, one of the nearest cadets of the present chief, along with the following commission from Montrose, the original of which is also preserved in the Strowan charter-chest:—

'Commissione James Marques of Montrose, his Majesties Leivetenent Generall of the Kingdome of Scotland, to Donald Robertsone, Tutor of Strowan, as Leivetenent Collonell of ane foot regiment of Atholl.

'We, by power and authority granted be his Majestie unto us, doe by these presents nominat and appoint Donald Robertsone, Tutor of Strowan, Leivetenent Collo-

LXX. King Charles I. to Montrose, 16th Jnly 1646.

Montrose,—The most sensible part of my many misfortunes, is to see my frends in distress, and not to be able to help them. And of this kynde you ar the cheefe. Wherefor, according to that reall freedome and frendship which is betwene us, as I cannot absolutly command you to accept of unhansome conditions, so I must tell you, that I belive your refusall will put you in a far worse estate then your compliance will. This is the reason that I have tould this bearer, Robin Car, and the Comissioners heere, that I have commanded you to accept of Midleton's conditions; which really I judge to be your best course, according to this present tyme: for if this oportunity be let slip, you must not expect any more treaties; in which case you must eather conquer all Scotland, or be inevitably ruined. That you may make the cleerer judgement what to doe, I have sent you heere inclosed the Chanceler's answers to your demands;[1] whereupon, if you fynde it fitt to accept, you may justly say I have comanded you; and if you take an other course, you cannot expect that I can publikely avow you in it, untill I shallbe able (which God knowes how soone that will be) to stand upon my owen feete; but, on the contraire, seeme to be not well satisfied with your refusall; which, I fynde cleerely, will bring all this army upon you; and then I shall be in a verry sad condition, such as I shall rather leave to your judgement then seeke to expresse. However, you shall allwais fynde me to be

Your most asseured, reall, constant, faithfull frend,

Charles R.

Newcastell, 16 July 1646.

nell of the foot regiment of Atholl, indewing him with all the priviledges and liberties belonging and competent to any Leivetenent Collonell of foot; the said Donald Robertsone alwayes being answerable to us for his cariadge and behaviour in the said charge. In witness wherof we have subscribit these presents at Logirait, the 26 day of April 1645.

'Montrose.'

[1] None of these papers have been recovered; but the substance of them is known.

Newcastell 21. Aug: 1646.

Montrose, in all kynde of Fortunes you fynde a wry more E more to oblige me; E it is none of my least Misfortunes that all this tyme I can only returne to you verball expraimens: but I assewre you that the World shall see that the reall expressions of my frendship to you, shall be an infallible syne of my change of fortune: As for your desyres, they ar all so just, that I shall endeuor what I can to haue them all satisfied, not without hope to giue you contentment in most of them; the particulars wherof you will receaue an account by this bearer Ro: Car to whom referring you I rest

Your most assewred reall faithfull constant frend

Charles R

Defer your going beyond Seas, as long as you may, without breaking your word.

Whatsoever you may otherwais heere, this is truly my sence, which I have ventured freely unto you, without a ciphre, because I conceave this to [be] coup de party.[1]

LXXI. King Charles I. to Montrose, 21st August 1646.

Montrose,—In all kynde of fortunes you fynde a way more and more to oblige me. And it is none of my least misfortunes, that, all this tyme,

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. See note to Number LXVIII. The narrative of Wishart might also seem to be at variance with this letter, when he says: 'The messenger returning, at last brought with him Articles signed by the King's hand, with injunctions now the third time, wherein he was required to disband without further delay; and the same messenger charged him, in the King's name, under pain of high treason, to give obedience unto the King's command.' (English edition, printed at the Hague, p. 178.) The author, who has been unjustly accused of falsifying for the sake of his hero, has in this Chapter not taken pains to be sufficiently explicit, and almost seems to represent Montrose as obstinate, and the King angry. Guthry's narrative supplies the deficiency:—'Robert Ker,' he says, 'who had carried the former message, returned from his Majesty to Montrose, requiring him, without more delay, to lay down his arms. And besides, Montrose received, by another bearer, *a secret letter from his Majesty*, wherein he wrote, that in case he should not presently lay down his arms, they would make it a pretext for undoing him; and therefore besought him most earnestly to do it.' This is an accurate report of the letter in the text, except that it seems to have been confided to 'Robin Car' himself. Guthry adds, that, upon the 22d of July 1646, Montrose and Middleton 'settled all things: as also, they two met together in a haugh by the water of Ilay, and conferred for the space of two hours, there being none near them but one man, for each of them, to hold his horse. The conditions were,—The Marquis of Montrose, Lodovick Earl of Crawfurd, and Sir John Urry, to be secluded from all pardon or favour, except safe transportation beyond sea; and they to embark before the last of August, the Estates affording them a vessel; Gorthy (Graham) being forefaulted, his person to be restored, but his estate excepted, because already disposed of to Balcarras; the rest, as well forfeited as not forfeited, to have their lives and fortunes safe, and to be in all things as before their engaging.' (Memoirs, p. 222.)

'This to coup de party.' *Sic in orig.*

I can only returne to you verball repaiment. But I asseure you that the world shall see that the reall expressions of my frendship to you shall be an infallible syne of my change of fortune. As for your desyres, they ar all so just, that I shall endevor what I can to have them all satisfied, not without hope to give you contentment in most of them; the particulars wherof you will receave an account by this bearer, Robin Car; to whom referring you, I rest

Your most asseured, reall, faithfull, constant frend,

CHARLES R.

Newcastell, 21 August 1646.

Defer your going beyond seas as long as you may, without breaking your word.[1]

LXXII. ROBERT NAPIER OF CULCREUCH TO HIS NEPHEW, ARCHIBALD SECOND LORD NAPIER, 31st May 1646.

LOVING NEPHEW,—As your rashe and inconsiderat breaking out at first, to joyne with your uncle, bread great greif and anger to all your

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This letter proves, what is scarcely to be gathered even from Wishart's narrative, that Montrose's reception of his Majesty's commands, throughout this melancholy transaction, was such as to excite his warmest approbation. The King by this time had heard the result of that picturesque meeting between Montrose and Middleton, on the 22d of July. See note to Number LXXI. It is not easy to understand the postscript to the above letter. Every chance was gone, and every moment that Montrose now deferred his departure out of Scotland endangered his life. Middleton, personally, was to be trusted. But the Argyle faction, in the meanest manner, endeavoured to intercept Montrose. Although under a capitulation for his safe departure, which was ratified by the Estates, he was only enabled to escape by assuming the disguise of a servant, and betaking himself to a small Norwegian craft, secretly prepared for him. And thus, with a few friends, as Wishart informs us, who was one of the party, he sailed for Norway, upon the 3d of September 1646, being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

weel affected freinds, so your continuing since in one course with him hes mightily increased, and daylie doth increase, our grief and sorrow. It is ivill to fall away to ane wronge course, but much worse to persist and continue therein. The first may admit divers favorable constructiones wherof the latter cannot be capable; and tymous repentance will be accepted wher untymelie is rejected. Opportunities once lost can hardly or never be recovered,—*fronte capillato est sed pòst occasio calva.* Now at this present tyme, by the Kings incoming to us, by his recalling his commissiones formerly granted to your uncle, and by commanding the laying doune of armes, it is heighe tyme for you to resolve not to adhere any more to your uncle's courses and wayes.[1] Lett not, I pray you, the preposterous love you carie to him, any longer blind the eyes of your understanding, nor misearrie you. Consider, I entreat you, and I pray the Almightie to move your hart to consider, that upon this very nick of tyme dependes the utter ruine, or safetie, of yourself, of your house and estate, lady, childrene, and posteritie, your nearest freindes, and of all that by the linke and tye of nature sould be dearest to you. For certainly, if you continue longer in that evill course, your forfaultour will not be long delayed, your lady and childrenie salbe reduced to extreme want, wherof they alreddie feill the begining (your whole estate being alreddie so cantoned, devydet, and takin up, that nather have they their necessar maintenance of it, nather payeth it any of your fathers debt), nather sall your sister have any thing to mainteine her; and we, your uncles, brenches of your house, who are enaged cautioners for your fathers debts, salbe undone in our estates;[2] and, finally, your name and memorie salbe made disgracefull to all posteritie; and how oft any of your worthie predecessors

[1] This letter is dated the last of May 1646, the very day upon which Montrose received the first announcement from his Sovereign that his commission was withdrawn. And already the Covenanters exultingly founded on the fact, as if it emanated from the free will of the monarch.

[2] This, probably, may account for the earnest tone of the remonstrance against the loyalty of his nephew.

salbe made mentione of heirafter, for thair verteues deeds, ather in Kirk or Comonewalthe, als oft shall your name come in remembrance and be spokine of with detestatione, as an enemy to both,—ane ruiner of ane ancient and weel deserving familie—ane blemishe to the lustre of your ancestors—ane destroyer of your own issue—the author of your lady and childrenies miserie and calamitie—the undoer of all the brenches of your house—and ane daylie upcast and reproche to all who belonges to you. These ar the sadde effects which your preposterous love in following your unele will produce. God of his mercie mak you yett in tyme, ere all hope be lossed, truely sensible of all these ivills, and recall your mynde from any longer following such dangerous and ivill courses. You supposed and apprehendet befor, that you stood for the defense of the King. Now he leaves you—he commandes you to lay doune armes —he seeks none of your defense. For whom shall you now stand longer in armes? If you doo, you become palpably and flatly both the Kings enemie and the Countries, and so cannot avoyd the rigorous censure of oppine rebellione. Tak it to hart, I pray you, in tyme, and pitie yourself—pitie your lady—pitie your childrenie and posteritie—pitie your freinds—and pitie the crying distresses of your poor tennentes, who by your leaveing of them ar become ane prey to all. Returne yitt in tyme, before all tyme be lossed; and God move and dispose your hart to returne; and lett the first beginings of your majoritie in age evidence better resolutiones then did the ending of your minoritie; and suffer the one, as maturer and ryper, to revoke and correct the errors of youth in the other. I know ther ar too many about you who, for their owne endes, will labor to withhold you from any good resolutione, desiring to have many partakers with them in their wicked wayes,—*consolatio est miserorum habere pares.* But if you harbor the true fear of God in your hart, with a care to performe that deutie you owe, in the station where God hathe placed you, to these you have neirest relatione unto, you will easiely reject all contrair suggestiones. He that hath not a care of his familie (sayth the apostle) is

worse then ane infidel. What may be then thoght of any one who salbe the instrument to ruine and destroy his owne familie? The Almightie God withhold and keepe you from being such ane instrument, and give to you true wisdome from above, to imbrace and followe the right, and not any longer to goe astray after the ivil groundet phantasies of men. It is the earnest desyr of all your honorable freinds heir, and of all who wishes you well, that you resolve quickly to leave the way you ar into, and to sett yourself to returne to the favor of your countrie; and, to this effect, that you wold be pleased to mak your desyr heirof knowne to your honorable freinds heire so soone as you canne; so that they, having certane knoledge of your intentione, and inclinatione therto, may therafter use thair best meines for procuring suche conditiones as you may adventure upon to come home. All which, praying the Almightie to prosper and blisse, to the glorie of his great name, to your weel, and to the comfort of us all, and so taking my leave, I recommend you to the protectione of God omnipotent, and restes,

Your loving uncle,

Reddie to serve you in all lawfull deuties,

R. Napier of Culcreuche.[1]

At Culcreuche, the last of May [1646.]

[1] Original, Napier charter-chest.

Robert Napier of Culcreugh, Bowhopple, and Drumquhannie, was the second son of the great Napier's second marriage, and brother-germane to John Napier mentioned *supra*, p. 208. Robert was the favourite son and companion, the amanuensis, and the literary executor of the Inventor of Logarithms. In the Napier charter-chest is a Latin manuscript, in the hand-writing of this Robert Napier, entitled, *Mysterii Aurei Velleris Revelatio, seu Analysis Philosophica, qua nucleus veræ intentionis Hermeticæ, posteris Deum timentibus, manifestatur. Authore R. N.*

Orbis quicquid opum, vel habet medecina salutis,
Omne Leo Geminis suppeditare potest.

The whole is in Latin, and consists of a digest of all that is precious in alchemy or hermetic philosophy, being a revelation of the mystery of the Golden Fleece. It commences with a solemn address to his son. He tells him, 'Above all things embrace God with your whole heart and purity of mind; for without his guidance

LXXIII. Sir Thomas Hope, His Majesty's Advocate, to King Charles I., 23d June 1646.

Most Sacred Soverane,—The sad and sorrowfull tymes quhilk hes intervenyit, since my letter to your Majestie of 19 August 1643, [in] the quhilk I gave to your Majestie our accompt of my most humble and faithfull service, in that Commission, wherwith I was honored and

all is vanity, and especially in this divine science.' He then strongly inculcates secrecy as the first essential duty of the Hermetic art:—'A madman,' says he, 'must not have a sword; and were these secrets to be divulged, the hind would become greedy of gold to his own destruction, and iniquities would cover the earth; mighty in their gold, nations would rush to war for nothing; the worthless would wax proud, and scorn their rulers; and the reins of civil power and legitimate government being relaxed, an earthquake would follow. Oh! I say, reveal this secret to the vulgar, and the darkness of chaos shall again brood upon the face of the waters.' Having thus enjoined secrecy, he proceeds to give his reasons for pointing out, to his son, the path to the precious elixir; namely, that he might not waste his time in consulting books that would lead him astray, or ruin himself with the expenses of an ill-directed search; and having sketched the plan of his work, he thus concludes:—'But, above all things, you my son, or whoever he be of my posterity who may chance to see and read this book, I adjure by the most holy Trinity, and under the pains of the curse of Heaven, not to make it public, nor to communicate it to a living soul, unless it be to a child of the art, a good man fearing God, and one who will cherish the secret of Hermes under the deepest silence. But if thou dost otherwise, accursed be thou! Guilty before the throne of God, may every pain of that condemnation follow thee which Heaven in its wrath will visit upon him who reveals the shrine of Hermes to unhallowed eyes. God grant that my soul may be free from so deadly a sin; and, imploring him that no malign influence may direct this book into impious hands, I take his holy name to witness that I have written it only for the sake of the good, those who with sincere and pious hearts worship him to whom be the honour, the praise, and the glory for ever and ever.'

In the letter now printed may be perceived the same eloquent style of the worthy who worshipped, simultaneously, the Green Lion and the Covenant, Hermes and Argyle.

trusted be your Majestie, to the Generall Assemblie,[1] hes made me dumb and speichles till now. And allbeit occasioun of great greife did presse me, at the spoyling and captiving of my sone Sir Alexander, your Majesties servand, whois faythfullnes to your Majestie wes, and is, frie of all blasme, yit trusting to your Majesties goodnes, and waiting for a tyme, when the Lord sould be pleasit to frie your Majestie of all those troubles and tempests wherin your Majestie wes then involvit, I did nather supplicat for my sons relise, nor importun your Majestie for the allowance dew to me as your Majesties Commissioner to the forsaid Assemblie. But now, since it hathe pleisit the Lord in his great mercie to oppin a dore to peace, be your Majesties happie aproche to this your Majesties native kingdome, I humblie expect that your Majestie, efter tryall of my sons behaviour, will give order for redresse of his sufferings.[2]

[1] The history of this *honor* and *trust*, put upon the Advocate in 1643, is given by Baillie. Hamilton's brother, Lanerick, Secretary for Scotland, obtained the Commission '*blank*,' says the Principal, 'to be filled with whose name he and some others thought expedient. Sometime Lindsay, sometime Glencairne, were spoken of; but both finding the impossibilitie to execute the instructions to the king and countrey's good lyking, refused the charge; and put in, by [without] his knowledge, and contrare to his mind, the Advocate's name; *of whom they had small care whether he lost himself or not.* The Instructions were thought to be very hard; yet the Advocate did not execute, nor name any of them to count of; *for he was so wise, and so well dealt with by his two sones,* that he resolved to say nothing *to the Church or Countrey's prejudice.*' Again: 'The Moderator and Argyle did so always *overawe* his Grace, *that he made us not great trouble.*' (Letters and Journals, vol. ii., pp. 83—96.) The crisis of 1643, of all others, required an honest Advocate for the King, and representative in the General Assembly. Sir Thomas Hope's humble and faithful service (of which he is so bold as to remind the King in the above letter), amounted to this: He was the most active promoter of the army which then crossed the Borders, and ruined the King at Marston Moor; and he was the most ardent agitator in that presumptuous condemnation of Episcopacy, and that anti-Christian League and Covenant, consummated in this very Assembly, and all of which, in 1646, the same fanatics were attempting to force upon the conscience of the King whom they sold.

[2] This was the Advocate's fifth son, Sir Alexander Hope of Grantoun. He had been, through the baneful influence of Hamilton, attached to the household as royal

And because I hear that some, taking occasioun of my age, and opinion of my weaknes, hes bein sutters for my place, (albeit, blisit be God, the vigour both of my bodie and spirite is suche as is sufficient to undergoe my charge), yit, if so be your Majesties pleasur to haife ane adjoynt to me, without prejudice to me induring my lyfe, I humblie expect your Majestie will be pleasit to hear my humble opinion anent the person; seing, be my gift ratified in Parliament, I am made sole and onlie Advocat to your Majestie, and to your Majesties darrest sone, the Prince, induring my lyftyme. And if your Majestie allow me herin, I sall import my opinion to my Lord Chancelor, who will acquant your Majestie thairwith. So humblie praying the Almightie God to multiplie his best blissings upon your Majesties royall person, kingdomes, and estait, I humblie kisse your Majesties sacred hand, and rests,

Your Sacred Majesties most
Humbill subject and servitor,
Sir Thomas Hope.

Edinburghe, 23 Junij 1646.[1]

carver. It would seem that the royal carver (who carved very much after the fashion of his father), had got into some trouble for his disloyalty; as he did afterwards with Charles II. See Carte's Ormonde Papers, vol. i. p. 410.

[1] Original, Wodrow M.S., vol. lxvii., No. 57. See vol. i. p. 122, as to Sir Thomas Hope, where it is noted, 'The Lord Advocate, professedly of Charles I., but practically for his enemies, lived to know the fame of Montrose, but not his reverse:' we ought to have said, 'his fate.' The date of the letter in the text is subsequent to the reverse at Philiphaugh; but, notwithstanding the vigour which it asserts, Sir Thomas was dead between three and four months thereafter. In this renewed, but last intercourse with the sovereign whom he had served so long, and so ill, and who was now at the verge of ruin, his Majesty's Advocate for his Majesty's interest tenders a petition for his own. Upon the demise of Sir Thomas Hope, in the month of October 1646, Charles I. was compelled to prefer to that dishonoured place the man whom he had the greatest reason to loathe and dread, Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, whose first act 'for his Majesty's interest' was to sell him to his murderers.

LXXIV. Montrose to Robert Graham of Carnee, 26th July 1646.

James Marques of Montrose, his Majesties Lieutenant, and Generall Governour of the Kingdome of Scotland.

Wheras Robert Græme of Carnee has still bein imployed be us in his Majesties service, ever since the begyning of thes troubles in this Kingdome, and hes approven himselfe most faithfull, and active, in all things as he was commanded be us,—Thes are therfor not only to witnes the same, but also to assure him (whensoever it shall please God of his mercie to rander his Majesties service into the former condition, and to restore unto his Majestie his just ryghts), that, in his Majesties name and authoritye, he shall be thankfullye acknowledged and bountifullie rewarded, according to his singulare weill-deserving.

Montrose.[1]

Given at Strethspaye, 26 Julie 1646.

[1] Original, in possession of Mr W. F. Watson, Edinburgh. One of the contemporary accounts of the public funeral of Montrose, in 1661, states, that, in the pageant, where each of the various branches of the House of Graham had a place, and carried some of the honours, 'Robert Grahame of Cairnie, elder, carried the Order of the Garter;' and that 'George Grahame, younger of Cairnie, carried the mourning pinsell.' Another account, however, has it, that the Order of the Garter was carried by Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, elder; and 'the General's baton by Robert Grahame, elder of Cairnie, a brave and bold gentleman, who, from the beginning of his chief's enterprizes, never abandoned him, and one whose fortune endured all the mischiefs of fire and devastation.' This eulogy is justified by Montrose himself, in the document now printed. It is only signed by Montrose, who rarely wrote more than his private letters without the aid of a secretary. Nor is it in the same hand as the other official papers, throughout his campaigns; and for this reason, that his former secretary, Mr James Kennedy, had been taken prisoner shortly before. See *supra*, p. 272.

LXXV. Archibald Second Lord Napier to King Charles I. 28th July 1646.

May it Please your Sacred Majesty: Now since it is free for your Majestyes Servants, in this Kingdome, to live at home or repaire abroade, at theire pleasure, I have taken the boldenes, before my departure, humbly to show your Majesty the passionat desyre I have to doe you service (which I have hitherto preferred to all sublunary thinges), and sall studie heerefter, when the blessed occasion of serveing your Majesty againe in this Kingdome sall offer, to give greater testimony of my respects to it. Meanwhyle if your Majesty have any commandements to lay upon me, I sould thinke it the greatest happines, to be employed, that he could be capable of who sall inviolablie be

Your Majestyes most faithfull, loyall, and obedient
Subject and servand,
Napier.

For the Kings most sacred Majesty, These.

Clunie, 28 July 1646.[1]

[1] The kindness of the Duke of Hamilton has supplied, from his Grace's archives, this interesting letter, which is now printed for the first time. Lord Napier, at this period little more than of age (although father of five children), was of course well cared for in Montrose's capitulation with Middleton (22d July 1646), and conditions made for him, by which he was enabled to return home if he pleased. See next Number, and *note*. His letter to the King is dated from Clunie in Athol, near the Blair, in whose church his father had been buried not many months before. It appears that the alarming remonstrance of his puritanical uncle, the laird of Culcreuche, had no effect upon the loyalty of this young nobleman. In the Napier charter-chest there is a commission from Lord Napier to his wife, and her father the Earl of Mar, for the management of his affairs, dated 2d March 1647. He then joined his uncle in Paris, notwithstanding the tyrannical restriction of the Committee.

LXXVI. Order of the Committee of Estates in favor of Archibald Second Lord Napier, 23d October 1646.

Edinburghe, 23 *Octobris* 1646. The Committee of Estaites declaires that the Lord Napeir his accidentall meeting with the late Earle of Montrose, his uncle, abroad out of the countrey, sall not inferr a contravention of his act; provyded he converse not with the saide late Earle. *Extractum.*

Arch. Primrose, Cler.[1]

LXXVII. The Honourable Lilias Napier to Sir George Stirling of Keir, 6th November 1646.

Dear Brother,—Tho I be glead of so frequant occasions, yet I am sorie they ar with such berirs: For if besines hed not gon misirably heir, ther wold a bein more adoe with thes honest men, who now is forst to leve ther own cuntry. I need say no more, since I know by them you will be informed pertiqularly: nor have I any contentment to wreat it; yet for your satisfacksion I shall acquant you of what passes heirafter, and constantly shall be your most affecsinot sister, and humble servant,

Sterling, 6 November [1646.] Lilias Napier.

I have sent away the letter to Powrie.
Margret Græm presentes her humble servis to yea.

For my dear brother, the laird of Keir, These.[2]

[1] Original, Napier charter-chest. The extract is signed by the same Archibald Primrose mentioned *supra*, p. 230, as having joined Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth.

[2] Original, Keir charter-chest. This letter indicates a deep interest in the state of public affairs, for a young Lady not twenty years of age. See pp. 210, 314.

LXXVIII. Papers relating to the Sale of King Charles I. by the Covenanters, November and December 1646.

I.

Die Sabbathi, 14 *November* 1646.—A Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for payment of Our Brethern of Scotland, two hundred thousand pounds, in maner and form following, and they to depart this Kingdom:—

Be it declared, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the first One hundred thousand pounds, which shall be raised either by the sale of Bishops Lands, or by the credit of the Ordinances which are passed for that purpose, shall be paid to Our Brethern of Scotland, upon the marching of their army and forces out of this Kingdom, at such time and place as shall be agreed upon: And the next Fifty thousand pounds so raised, at the end of three months after the former payment: And Fifty thousand pounds more raised as aforesaid, at the end of nine moneths after the first payment: But in case the latter One hundred thousand pounds shall be with more speed procured, the same shall be sooner paid unto them, although there be no ingagement for a more speedy payment then at the times formerly expressed.

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Declaration be forthwith printed and published. H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London: Printed for *Edw. Husband*, Printer to the Hon^ble^ House of Commons.[1]

[1] Original printed broad-side, Montrose charter-chest.

II.

For the Right Honorabill the Lord Marquis of Argyle, Lord Balmerino, and the Lord Warestoun.

Right Honorabill,—The Committee appoynted by the House of Comons to answer our papers takes very much paines to give a full and large answer; and wee heare they intend to recriminat against our army, and are, for that purpose, collecting together all the informations and complaints they can.[1] This day the Ordinance, for their security who shall advance the £200,000, is passed both Houses; but with this clause in the end of it, that One hundred thousand pound shalbee payed presently to the Scottish army, and, for the other hundred thousand pound, that Fiftie thousand pound therof shalbee payed at three months, and other Fifty at nyne months, or sooner, if it can bee had. Wee are

Your Lordships most humble servants,

Loudon. Lauderdaill.
Charles Erskine.
Hew Kennedy. Ro. Barclay.

14 November 1646.

25 November 1646.—*Red in audience of Parliament.*

[1] The Covenanters and the rebel Parliament, during the months that the King was with the Scots, continued to discuss the question, of their *joint* right to decree his fate, through argumentative papers, growling and snarling at each other like curs over a dainty prize. The disreputable controversy was all printed in voluminous pamphlets of the day.

III.

For the Right Honorabill the Lord Marquesse of Argyll, the Lord Balmerino, and the Lord Warystoun, his Majesties Advocat.

Right Honorabill,—Wee received your Lordships of the 10th of this instant, with the Act of Parliament enclosed, fully approving your Lordships and our proceedings; and wee doe returne your Lordships harty thanks for your faithfull managing the report thereof, and representing the state of affairs. Wee are expecting his Majesties answere to the Propositions of peace; but are sorrie to heare that hee doth still stick so much upon the matters of Religion, which was the cheife ayme wee had before us when wee ingaged in this Cause.[1] Which,

[1] The cold-blooded effrontery of this, and from such characters as Loudon and Lauderdale, is worth noting. That Charles I. should have desired to assimilate the forms of public worship throughout his Kingdoms, was inevitable, from his hereditary and christian feelings. The prudence of the attempt is questionable, and the conduct of it by those whom he trusted is more than questionable. But that they, who made this a pretext for all the dishonest violence that followed, should attempt to identify, not only their old and inconsistent design of assimilating the worship in England to that of the Covenant, but their present disgraceful attempt to compel the King of Episcopal England, against his duty and his conscience, to sanction the ridiculous project,—that they should pretend to identify this with 'the Cause,' as originally professed and excused, surpasses all the impudence of faction upon record. See *supra*, p. 70. Baillie, who at times bestows his maudlin admiration upon the King, will not allow him a conscience at all on the subject of religion. In a letter written at this crisis to Henderson, (with the King at Newcastle,) he says,—'Though he should *swear it*, no man will believe it, that he sticks upon Episcopacy for any conscience.' This fantastical fanatic was about as competent a judge of the conscience of Charles I. as he was of what he calls 'the reach' of Cromwell. 'Vane and Cromwell,' he says, in a letter to Spang, 1st September 1647, '*as I take it*, are of nimble hot fancies, to put all in confusion, *but not of any deep reach*.'—(Letters and Journals, vol. ii. p. 383, and vol. iii. p. 16.) Baillie lived long enough to discover the reach of Cromwell.

recommending to your Lordships serious consideration, wee remaine

Your Lordships most humble servants,

LOUDON. LAUDERDAILL.
CHARLES ERSKINE.
HEW KENNEDY. RO. BARCLAY.

Worcester House, the 17th of November 1646.

25 November 1646.—*Red in audience of Parliament.*

IV.

For the Most Honorabill the Lords and the Commissioners of Shires and Burrowes Assembled in the High Court of Parliament at Edinburgh.

MAY IT PLEASE YOR LORDSHIPS,—Wee have, according to our Instructions, so farre proceided in the Treaty for payment of the money, reddition of the Garrisons, and returne of your Army, as all conditions are very neere agreed upon, and ready to be drawne up in Articles, and signed by both sides: Wherein our endeavours have beine more successful then was expected; and the jealousies and misapprehensions of many, concerning the intentions of your army, are removed, to the great discouragement of such as were desireous to foment differences betweene the Kingdomes. Wee have, ever since the returne of the Commissioners of both Kingdomes, who were sent to the King with the Propositions of Peace, endeavoured to keepe off any hard resolutiones against him. And now we heare, by our last intelligence from Newcastle, that there is a message to come hither from his Majestie, whereof the effects must needs be of great importance, either to the continuance of the troubles, or setleing the peace of these Kingdomes: And if the bill against Episcopacy be not assented unto, and the Covenant approved (which wee are informed is not like to be done), the ansuere will certainely not give

satisfaction to any party here. It is expected within a few days: But, however, wee finde it of suche absolute necesssity to give your Lordships a true information of the state of affaires here, as wee are resolved some of our number shall wait upon your Lordships very speedily; to the end your Lordships may, upone the most certane knowledge of affaires, resolve what is fittest to be done in relation to Religion, the King, and the peace and happinesse of the Kingdomes; the promoting whereof hath and shall ever be the constant care of

Your Lordships most humble servants,

LOUDON. LAUDERDAILL.
CHARLES ERSKINE.
HEW KENNEDY. RO. BARCLAY.

Worcester House, the 15th of December 1646.[1]

[1] The four papers composing this Number are from the originals, very recently discovered, in the Montrose archives. They may serve to represent, in this Collection, the crisis of the sale of the King, by the Covenanters, to the rebel Parliament. That mortal wound inflicted, by a vicious faction, upon the national character, deprived Scotland of all that she had been able to save at Flodden. The personal characters, of the representatives of the nation in that transaction, will bear no inspection. Throughout the disreputable details of the lives of Argyle, Loudon, Lauderdail, and Warriston, consisteney, humanity, honour, and true courage are not to be found. Montrose had ceased to tread the soil of Scotland, ere the dishonourable consummation, and only set foot on it again as he passed to his own martyrdom. Whosoever would justly appreciate the conduct of the King at this time, must peruse his own letters (in every way admirable), preserved among the State Papers collected by Clarendon. Malcolm Laing, an historian so apt to pervert the truth, to his own political bias, that his period of history requires to be re-written, insolently condemns the King's inevitable, and Christian repugnanee, personally to sanction the destruction of the Church in England, and to ratify the destruction of the Monarchy, as an 'obstinate and inflexible refusal.'—(Hist., vol. i. p. 331.) Whitelock (Mem., p. 238) notes the information, 'That the Scots Commissioners at Newcastle could not prevail with the King to take the Covenant, and sign the Propositions; and that a Scotch Lord told him, *if he did not, they must give him up to the Parliament of England, and it would fall heavy upon him and his posterity.*' Hamilton's conduct upon this occasion was in keeping with the whole tenor of his life. Having done much

LXXIX. King Charles I. to Montrose, 21st January 1647.

Montrose,—Having no ciphre with you, I thinke not fitt to wryte but what I care not though all the world read it. First, then, I congratulate your cuming to the Low Countries; hoping before this that ye are safely aryved at Paris.[1] Next, I refer you to this trustie bearer for the knowledge of my present condition; which is such, as all the directions I am able to give you, is, to desyre you to dispose of yourselfe as my Wyfe shall advyse you; knowing that she truely esteemes your worth; for she is myne, and I am

Your most asseured, reall, faithfull, constant frend,

Charles R.

Newcastell, 21 January 1646-7.[2]

to cause, and nothing to avert, the disgraceful result, he and his brother Lanerick, at the eleventh hour, *protested* against the sale of the King. But he received thirty thousand pounds as his own share of the price. To Argyle an equal share was allotted. Sir Archibald Johnston, his Majesty's Advocate, received three thousand. Fifteen thousand were set aside for Argyle's friends.' The zealous preachers were rewarded in proportion to their zeal. The transaction will stink in the nostrils of History to the end of Time. After Charles knew his fate, and a few days before he was delivered into the hands of the Commissioners sent by the Parliament, he wrote to Montrose the letter which forms the next Number.

[1] Montrose was not at Paris, however, but remaining at Hamburgh. Some time in September, he had reached Bergen in Norway, with his suite, the port to which their vessel belonged; from thence he journeyed to Christiana, and soon afterwards embarked for Denmark. His immediate object was to obtain an audience of Christian V., the maternal uncle and most friendly ally of his royal master; but when he arrived in Denmark he learnt that the King was in Germany. So he again embarked, and crossing the Baltic, passed through Holstein, and established himself at Hamburgh, where he remained for some time, anxiously expecting tidings of the fate of Charles, and the result of his own negotiation with the Queen. But he was aware of the jealousy, and baneful influence of Jermyn, and had little hopes of a cordial reception in that quarter, however naturally inclined her Majesty might be to aid his exertions.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This letter contradicts Clarendon. See Introduction to the next Part.

LXXX. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 5th February 1647.

Paris, ce 5 Feb. [1647].

Mon Cousin,—Jay estte bien ayse de sette occatiou pour vous escrire, en atandant que je vous despeche plus amplement sur la proposition que mafaite milord de Craford, de notre part, et de plasieurs bons serviteurs du Roy, monseigneur, aux yles d'Escosse: la quelle je aprouue extrememant; et comme je la tiens fort pour le seruice du Roy, je feray tout se que je pouray pour ladvanser, et je y trauaile de tout mon pouuoir. Sette lettre est seullement pour vous dire en generall se que vous resceures de moy, a la premiere seimaine, avec plus de particuliarites; et aussy vous assurer, que je ne seray jamais constante que je ne vous aye fait paroistre, par mes actions, lestime que je fais de votre personne, et des seruices que vous anes randus au Roy; afin que vous recongnoisies que je suis veritablement,

Votre bien bonne et affectionnee
Cousine et amie,
Henriette Marie, R.

A mon Cousin,
le Marquis de Montrosse.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. The Queen's letters to Montrose are autograph; and it may be necessary to add, from the style of the orthography, that they are printed precisely as they were written. A translation is here subjoined as before. See *supra*, p. 77.

Paris, 5th February, [1647].

Cousin,—I am very happy to have this opportunity of writing to you in the mean time, until I can furnish you with more ample despatches, regarding the proposition submitted to me by my Lord Crawford ou your part, and that of several good servants of his majesty in the Highlands of Scotland, of which I approve extremely; and as I hold it to be of great importance to the service of his majesty, I shall do all that I can to further it, and labour therein with all my power. This letter is merely to tell you generally of what you shall be more particularly informed by myself in the ensuing week; and also to assure you, that I shall never be contented until I am able to prove, by deeds, the estimation in

LXXXI. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 12th February 1647.

Paris, ce 12 Feburier [1647].

Mon Cousin,—Jay reseu vos lettres, lune par la Sonde, et lautre par Major Carr: lesquelles mont extrememant rejouy, de voir lestat ou vous estties, les rebelles ayant fait courir le bruit que vous avies estte defait. Je vondrois vous pouuoir mander dossy bonnes nouuelles dAngletaire. Jay commandee a Jermin de vous escrire plus emplemant; et aussy, a ce porteur, de vous dire, dauantage, que je ne puis escrire. Sest pour quoy, me remetant a cela, je finiray, vous assurant que jay un cy grand resentimant des fidelles, et grands seruises, que vous randes au Roy, que joray toujours vos interest en assy grande recommandation, et plus que les miens propre. Croyes lay, je vous prie, et que je suis

Votre bien bonne et affectionnee
Amie,

Henriette Marie, R.

A Mon Cousin,
le Marquis de Montrosse.[1]

which I hold yourself, and the services you have rendered to the king, so that you may be satisfied that I am truly your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

Henrietta Maria, R.

To Our Cousin
the Marquis of Montrose.

See Appendix to this Part, for the illustration of the Queen's correspondence with Montrose, and the refutation of Historical misrepresentations and calumnies on the subject.

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest; which may be thus translated:—

Paris, 12th February [1647].

Cousin,—I have received your letters, one by La Sonde, and the other by Major Carr, and am exceedingly rejoiced to learn the condition in which you are, the rebels having spread a report that you had been defeated. I wish I could send you as good news of England. I have commanded Jermyn to write more fully to you; and also this bearer to tell you, over and above, what I cannot commit to paper. Wherefore, referring you to them, I conclude with the assurance, that I entertain so lively a sense of the faithful and vast services which you have rendered to the King, that I shall always have

LXXXII. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 15th March 1647.

Paris, ce 15 Mars [1647].

Mon Cousin,—Aussy tost que jay apris votre ariuee en Hollande, je vous ay voulu faire sette lettre, pour vous donner toujours des assurances de la continuation de lestime que jay de seruices que vous aues randus au Roy, monseigneur. Je ne fais point de doute de la continuation, lorsque vous le poures. Vos actions men ont donne des preuues trop emdantes pour en douter. Comme aussy, jespere que vous croyes, quil nia rien qui puisse esttre en mon pouuoir pour vous en faire paroistre mes resentiments, que je ne fasse. Jay charge Asheboumham de vous parler, plus particulierement, de quelque chose pour le seruice du Roy. Me remetans a luy, a qui vous pouues prandre entierre croyance, je finiray auec sette assurance encore, que je suis tres cinserement,

Mon Cousin,
Votre affectionnee Cousine et
Constante Amie
Henriette Marie, R.

A Mon Cousin,
le Marquis de Montrose.[1]

your interests no less deeply at heart, and indeed more so, than my own. This I entreat you to believe, and that I am your very good and affectionate friend,

Henrietta Maria, R.

To Our Cousin,
the Marquis of Montrose.

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[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest; which may be thus translated:—

Paris, 15th March [1647].

Cousin,—So soon as I learnt that you had arrived in Holland, I was desirous to write this, that you might be assured of the constant value attached by me, to the services which you have rendered to the King, my husband. I do not harbour a doubt that you will continue so to serve him, whenever it is in your power. What you have already done, affords proofs, not to be mistaken, of what you will do. And you, I trust, will no less readily believe, that there is nothing I would not do within my power, to convince you of my gratitude. I have commissioned Ashburnam to converse more

Newmarket 19. June 1647.

Montrose, when ye shall truly know my present Condition, ye will rather [redacted] wonder, that I have receaued & answerd yours then that this bearer, the last tyme, went empteie from me: but not being confident of the safe deliuery of this, nor having having any Cypher with you, I thinke not fit to wryte freely unto you; wherfor I desyre you to take directions from my Wyfe what ye ar to doe & be confident that no Tyme, Place, or Condition shall make me other then

Your most assured reall faithfull constant Frend

Charles R.

I thanke you for the Sword ye sent me.
Comend me to all my Frends that are with you.

LXXXIII. King Charles I. to Montrose, 19th June 1647.

Newmarket, 19th June 1647.

Montrose,—When ye shall truly know my present condition, ye will rather wonder that I have receaved, and answered yours, then that this bearer the last tyme, went emptie from me. But not being confident of the safe delivery of this, nor having any cyfer with you, I thinke not fitt to wryte freely unto you. Wherfor, I desyre you to take directions from my Wyfe what ye ar to doe; and be confident that no tyme, place, or condition, shall make me other then

Your most asseured, reall, faithfull, constant frend,

Charles R.

I thanke you for the Sword ye sent me.
Comend me to all my Friends that are with you.[1]

particularly with you of something which concerns the service of the King. Referring you to him, upon whom you may implicitly rely, I conclude with the reiterated assurance, that I am very sincerely, Cousin, your affectionate Cousin, and constant friend

Henrietta Maria R.

To Our Cousin,
the Marquis of Montrose.

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[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest.

From the end of January, when the Scots delivered him into the hands of the Parliament, to the beginning of June, the King had been rigorously confined at Holdenby, in the County of Northampton. But on the third of the latter month, a new crisis occurred; for 'one Joyce,' a madman whom the times had transmuted from a tailor into a cornet, at the head of a body of horse, seized the person of his Majesty, and transferred him from the Parliament to Cromwell. In his progress to Hampton Court, where he was now placed, and for a time mocked with the insignia of Monarchy, the King had passed through Newmarket, from whence he found an opportunity of writing this doubtless his last letter to Montrose. That he had done so was unknown, to history at least, until the Editor found the letter among the family papers. The postscript is curious and affecting. There is no other record of the fact that Montrose at this time had sent a sword to Charles I. Possibly it was the sword which had been best wielded in his service, the only sword which had rendered famous the monarch of Montrose's heart.

'I'll make thee glorious by my pen,
And famous by my sword.'

LXXXIV. Montrose to Sir George Stirling of Keir, 26th July 1647.

Hon. Freind,—I receaved yours, and am very glaid of your wealefaire, being in some trouble on contrary conjectures; not hearing hitherto from yourself, or of the receat of the queine and princes letters, or from any other hand, concerning your being in those pairts: for Balloch spoke nothing att all to me. As for your busynes ther, I am afraid you fynd it longsome. But if matters stand with the king as we ar maid to understand, or if please God they goe weale with myself any other wher, I hope you shall not neide to think upon yourself, but leave me to do it. As for that which you spoke long agoe concerning Lillias, I have beane thinking, but to no purpose; for ther is nether Scots man nor woman welcome that way; nether wold any of honor and vertue, (cheifly a woman,) suffer themselfs to live in so lewd and worthles a place. So you may satisfy that person, and divert hir thoughts resolutly from it. Wishing you all happynes, I am your faithfulest and affectionat brother,

Montrose.

Near Paris, 26 July, 1647.

For the right worshipfull Sir George Sterling
of Keir; in Holland.[1]

[1] Original, Keir charter-chest. This letter marks the high esteem which Montrose entertained for Sir George Stirling of Keir, who was married to his niece. Yet Keir, though ever loyal, and constantly persecuted, had never joined him in arms. The lady mentioned is his unmarried niece, Lilias Napier; for whom, probably, Sir George had suggested a retreat and protection at the Court of Queen Henrietta Maria. Montrose himself, it will be observed, was living apart from the Court of St Germains, regarding which there were circumstances which may account for, if not justify, the severe expressions in the letter, which probably refer to that Court.

Ckein:

LXXXV. Lord Erskine to Sir George Stirling of Keir, 16th December 1647.

Honorable Sir,—I confess the letter I receaved from you, upon your servants returne from Holland, was so great a compliment as I knowe not how to answere it so well as by silence: and yett I shall never doubt your respect to me, that honours and esteemes you as I do.

I am still desirous to knowe your wellfare, the best news I can hear from thence. Neither have I anie to send you from this place, but that their Commissioners ar going on with the late Lord Napiers forfaltur, and sueing hard to have that fine payed whiche I was surtie for him in, at the Parliament at Perth. It is but a *litle summe* of 40,000 marks! wherof 20,000 pounds is assigned to the Advocatts for their service donne the State. By this, Sir, you will perceave that matters are not much changed here since you went away. But, lett thes things goe as theye will, I am unchaneablie, Sir,

Your most faithfull cosen,

Sterline, December 16, 1647. Areskine.

The unfortunatt Marquiss of Huntlie is taken. How the Commissioners will dispose of him God knowes.

For the Right Honorable Sir George Sterline of Keir.

[1] Original, Keir charter-chest. This was John Lord Erskine, who became ninth Earl of Mar, in 1654. His sister, Lady Elizabeth, was the wife of Lord Napier. The forfeiture of the first Lord Napier, alluded to in the letter, is thus explained by Guthry:—

'Archibald Lord Napier, a nobleman for true worth and loyalty, inferior to none in the land, having, in the year 1645, died in his Majesty's service at Fineastle in Athol, the Committee resolved to raise his bones, and pass a sentence of forefalture thereupon: and for this end letters were raised, and ordained to be executed at the pier and shore of Leith, against Archibald Lord Napier, his son, then under exile for his loyalty, to appear upon sixty days' warning, and to hear and see the same done.

LXXXVI. Archibald Second Lord Napier to Lady Elizabeth Erskine, Lady Napier, 14th June 1648.

My Dearest Heart,—I did forbeare these two months to wreat unto you, till I should heare from my Lord Montrose, that I might have done it for good and all; bot feareing that may take some tyme, I resolved to give you ane account of all my Lords proceedings, and the resons which did invite me to come to this place.

Montrose then (as you did heare), wes in treaty with the Frenches, who, in my opinion, did offer him very honorable conditions; which were these: First, that he shonld be Generall to the Scotts in France, and Lovtennant-Generall to the Royall Army, when he joined with them, commandeing all Marishales of the feild. As lykewyse to be Captaine of the Gens-d'armes, with twelve thousand crownes a yeere of pension, besyde his pay; and assurance the next yeere to be Marishall of France, and Captaine of the Kings owne Guarde, which is ane place bought and sonld at ane hnndreth and fifty thousand crowns. Bot these two last places wes not insert amongst his other conditions, only promised him by the Cardinall Masarine; bot the others wer all articles of theire capitulation, which I did see in wreat, and used all the indusements and persuasions I could, to make him embrace them. He seemed to harken unto me, which caused me at that tyme to show you that I hoped shortly to acquaint [you] with things of more certainty, and to better purpose, then I had done formerly. Bot whyle I wes thus in hope, and dayly expectation, of his present agreement with them, he did receave advertisements from Germany, that he wold be wealcome to the

And when his friends were startled at the noise of it, and made inquiry what was meant by it, they found it was only to draw money from the present Lord Napier, for the use of some sycophants that expected it. And so they advanced 5000 merks to that end; and thereupon the intended forefalture was discharged.'—(Mem. p. 250.)

The fate of Huntly, under the merciless fiat of Argyle, is well known.

— it was aber sayde yt Montrose and his
Nephewe was like ye pope and the church
who wold be inseparable. —
My dearest lyfe
Only yours
Napier

Emperour. Upon which he tooke occasion to send for me, and begane to quarrell with the conditions wes offered him; and [said] that any imployment below ane Marischall of France wes inferiour to him; and that the Frenches had beene enymies to our King, and did laboure still to foment the differences betwixt him and his subjects; that he might not be capable to assist the Spaniard, whom they thoght he wes extreamly inclyned to favoure; and that, if he did engadge with them, he wold be forsed to connive and winke at his Princes ruin; and for these reasons, he wold let the treaty desert, and goe into Germany, where he would be honorablie apointed. Which sudden resolution did extreamly trouble and astonish me: for I wes very desyrous he should sattle in France; and did use againe all the arguments I could, to make him embrace such profitable conditions: for, if he had beene once in charge, I am confident, in ane very short tyme he should have beene on of the most considerable strangers in Europe: for, beleave it, they had ane hudge esteime of him; for some eminent persons there, came to see him, who refused to make the first visite to the Embassadours Extraordinary of Denmarke and Swedene, yet did not stand to salute him first, with all the respect that could be imagined.

Bot to the purpose. He, seeing me a little ill satisfyed with the course he wes going to take, did begine to dispute the matter with me, and, I confesse, convinced me so with reasone, that I rested content, and wes desyrous he should execute his resolution with all imaginable speede; and did agree so that I should stay at my exercises in Paris, till the end of the month; and goe often to Court, make visits, and ever in public places, at comedies and such things; still letting the word goe that my unkle wes gone to the country for his health; which wes always beleaved so long as they saw me; for it wes ever said that *Montrose and his nephew wes lyke the Pope and the Church, who wold be inseparable*: whereas if I had gone away with him, and left my exercises abruptly, in the middle of the month, his course wold have beene presently discovered; for how soone I had beene missed, they wold instantly have judged me to

be gone somewhere with him; then search had beene made every where, and if he had beene taken going to any of the Housse of Austria, who wes there enymies, you may thinke they wold have stayed him; which might have beene dangerous both to his persone, credite, and fortonne. So there wes no way to keepe his course closse, bot to me to stay behind him at my exercises, (as I had done for ane long tyme before,) till I should heare he were out of all hadzard: which I did, according to all the instructions he gave me.

The first letters I receaved from him wes dated from Geneave. So when I perceaved he wes out of French ground, I resolved to come heire to Flanders, where I might have freedome of correspondence with him; as also liberty to goe to him when it pleased him to send for me; which I could not doe conveniently in France: for I wes affraide, how soone his course should chance to be discovered, that they might seeke assurance of me, and others, not to engage with theire enymie; which is ordinary in such cases. Yet wold I never have given them any; bot thoght best to preeveene it. And besyde, I had beene at so great ane charge for ane month after his way-going, with staying at Court, and keepeing of ane coach there, which I hyred, and comeing bake to Paris, and liveing at ane greater rate then I did formerly, (all which wes his desyre, yet did consume much moneys,) and feareing to be short, did resolve rather to come heire, and live privatly, then to live in ane more inferiour way in France then I had done formerly. So these gentlemen, which belonged to my Lord, heareing of my intention, wold, by any meanes, goe along; and [we] went all together to Haver-de-grace, where wee tooke shipe for Middleburgh, and from thence came heire, where wee are dayly expecting Montroses commands; which, how soone I receave them, you shall be advertised by him who intreats you to beleave that he shall studie most carefullie to conserve the quality he hes hitherto inviolablie kept, of continuing,

My dearest lyfe, only yours,

Bruxelles, June 14, 1648. NAPIER.

[*Postscript.*]

My heart,—I receaved letters from you that came by France, where you desyre to know if I have taken on any debt in France, as my freinds did conceave: which answeare I doe yet give you, that my fortonne, nor no freind, shall ever be troubled with the charge of any thing I did spend there. At my parting from France there went in my company above fifetynth that did belong to my Lord Montrose; amongst which wes Monsreux Hay, Kenoule's brother, and severall others of good quality; and wes forsed to ly long at Rouan, and Haver, for passage; so that our journey to Bruxelles wes above ane thousand frankes; and now wee have beene neare six weekes into it, which hes consumed both my moneys and theirs. Bot wee expect letters from Montrose shortly, and bills of exchange, till which time we intend to go out of this place:—And, or I be very troublesome to you, I shall live upon on meale a day. I have beene most civily used in this tonne by many of good quality, and wes the last day invited by the Jesuits to theire College, where I receaved handsome intertainement; and after long discourse, told me, that, if I liked, the King of Spain should maintain me. Bot I shew them that I wold not live by any King of Christendoome's charity. They sayde it wes no charity, for many of eminent places receaved alowance from him. I told them, if I did him service, what he bestowed upon me then I might justly take it; bot to be ane burden to him otherways, I wold never doe it. Bot I know there maine end wes to try if they could persuade me to turne Catholicke; bot I shall, God willing, resist all there assaults, as weeale as theire fellowes which plyed me so hard in Paris. Another reason why I wold remove from this tonne, is, that I receaved advertisement, both from Paris and the Court of St Germains, that it wes resolved the Prince of Wales should goe to Scotland, and had already receaved his passe from the Archduke Leopold to goe by Bruxelles to Holland, where he wes to take shipe. So hearing of the Princes comeing heire, and knowing the undeserved favourable opinion he had off me, which he often and publictly professed, made me feare he should desyre me to goe

with him to Scotland; which you know I could not doe; for I wes not assured that they would keep touch; and to refuse the Prince, who is my master, and to whom I am so infinitly oblidged, wold give ground to some of my uncles unfreinds to say, heerefter, that I refused to hadzard with the Prince, or take ane fortonne with him. So I resolve to shift myselfe tymouslie from this place, and shun such ane bussines, that wold give enymies advantage. Bot if it were not for my credite, which wold suffer by my comeing to Scotland, and tho I were not commanded by the Prince, I wold goe six tymes as far elswhere, throw all dangers imaginable, only to see you. For, I confesse, I have satisfaction in nothing whilst wee live at such distance: for tho I should enjoy all those things which others doth esteme felicityes, yet, if I doe not enjoy your company, they are rather crosses then pleasures to me: and I should be more contented to live with you meanly, in the deserts of Arabia, then [without you] in the most frutefull place in the world, plentifullie, and with all the delits it could afford. You may possiblie think these *complements*, as you shew me ons before, when I wreat kyndly to you. Bot (God knowes) they flow from ane real and ingenous heart. And if it had not beene for waiteing on Montrose, (which I hope I shall have no reasone to repent, for he hath sworne often to preferre my weale to his owne), I might before this tyme have satled somewhere: for, just before my parting from Paris, I receaved letters from some freinds, at Madride in Spaine, that, if I pleased, I should have ane commission for ane regiment, and tenn pistolls of levie moneys for every man; which was ane good condition; for I could have gained at least forte thousand merkes upon the levieing of those men. Bot I hope my unkle will provyde no worse for me. The reasone why I am so impatient to engadge, is, to have your company; for I am sure yee will not refuse to come to me when you heare I am able honourablie to mainetaine you. I pray you doe not show this letter except to very confident freinds; and that which is wreaten after my subscription, to none. Lord be with you.

Be pleased, deare heart, to let me have on thing which I almost did

forget—your picture in the breads of ane sixpens—without ane case, for they may be had better and handsomer heir—and I will weare it upon ane ribban under my doublet, so long as it, or I, lasts.

I cannot expresse how much I am oblidged to Sir Patricke Drummond, and his lady, at Camphire: the particulars you shall know with the first occasion.

Send your picture as I desyre it. The other is so bigg as I cannot weare it about me. Montrose gave me his picture at his way-going, which I caused putt in ane gold case of the same biggnes I desyre yours.[1]

[1] Original, Napier charter-chest. Unfortunately no more of Lord Napier's correspondence with his lady, and none of his correspondence with Montrose, has been discovered. This is the more to be regretted, from the interesting and communicative style of that in the text. There are few private letters of the period so long; and still fewer that combine such curious and affecting touches of domestic interest, with minute historical information, regarding so conspicuous a character as Montrose. The letter happens to supply precisely those details of the great Marquis's reception and movements abroad, during the interval betwixt his departure from Scotland, and the murder of Charles I., that are not to be met with elsewhere. While Clarendon was so inaccurately recording the position of Montrose at this time as to subject the historian to the charge of misrepresentation; and Burnet, still later, was weaving his calumnious gossip on the subject, the simple and affecting truth, (so much more honourable to Montrose than the oft quoted pages of these historians), lay hid in the Napier charter-chest, and remained hid for two centuries. Unfortunately there has not been preserved with the letter that precious picture of the hero 'in the breadth of a sixpence.' The fate of it is unknown. One most remarkable circumstance, in this ebullition of domestic affection, is, that the young father makes no mention of his five children, who were with Lady Napier in Scotland.

APPENDIX TO PART V.

I.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTER OF THE PRESBYTERY OF PERTH, AS TRANSCRIBED BY THE REV. JAMES SCOTT, MS. ADVOCATES' LIBRARY. PROCEEDINGS OF THE PRESBYTERY AFTER THE BATTLE OF TIPPERMUIR.

'Presbytery Register, October 16, 1644.
'Privy Censures.

'The brethren removed to the censure as was ordained, viz., Mr James Campbell, minister of St Madoes; Mr George Halyburton, minister of Perth; Mr Alexander Balneaves, minister of Tibbermuir. All of them approven in their doctrine and conversation. Mr James Campbell declares that there are certain persons, in this parish of St Madoes, who have gone out with Montrose in this rebellious expedition; viz., Sir Patrick Hay of Pitfour, &c. Others there were none which he knew.

'Mr George Halyburton sharply censured for his conversing with Montrose, during his being in Perth. Also for *eating and drinking* with him, and *saying of grace to his dinner*, he being an excommunicate person; and for receiving of passes from him. Whilk things Mr George ingenuously confessed; and declares that he was surprised upon a sudden, and that he was *urged* thereto;[1] for the

[1] It is curiously characteristic of the dignified and humane manner, in which Montrose was anxious to conduct his campaigns, that in all the confusion and excitement of the taking of Perth, his first victory, he had *urged* one of the clergymen of Perth, to dine with him and say grace.

whilks he was heartily sorry that he should have given so great offence; and is willing to give in his declarations anent the occasion of his going in to him, and manner of conversing with him, under his own hand.

'Mr Alexander Balneaves was charged with having conducted, and conversed with, the said Earl, at his own house, the day of the battle of Tibbermuir, whilk he denies; and offers to give in his declaration thereanent under his own hand, for his clearing.

'Mr Thomas Halyburton, minister of Errol; Mr Archibald Moncrieff, minister of Abernethy; and Mr James Olyphant, minister of Kinnoul, removed. All approven in their life and doctrines. Mr Thomas declares that my Lord Dupplin, William Hay son lawful to Sir Patrick Hay of Pitfour, Captain Thomas Hay, and six or seven of his own domestic servants, were gone on with Montrose. Mr Thomas was acknowledged that he had behaved himself thereanent as an christian and wise minister, and allowed for his behaviour.

'Mr James Olyphant censured for his non-residence, and is ordained to remove forth of my Lord Kinnoul his family, under pain of suspension; whilk he promised to do with all diligence. Also censured for coming into Perth, to Montrose, taking passes and protections from him. He declares that what he did was for the good and safety of his parishioners, and kirk, whereinto the rebel Irishes were roasting their meats, and burning the furmes of the Communion tables; and offers thereupon to give in his declarations under his own hand.'

[*Note by the original Transcriber.*]

(N.B.—Mr Alexander Balneaves, younger, had been ordained colleague with, and successor to, his father, September 16, 1640. His father, it is said, was then stricken in yeares, and not able to attend upon his charge, and seems to have died sometime in the year 1641. The marriage of the younger Mr Alexander Balneaves, with Margaret Graham Lady Strowan, was much objected to by the Lady's father, George [Patrick?] Graham of Inchbrakie, in the beginning of the year 1643. Mr Balneaves was the ancestor of the family of Balneaves of Carnbadie; and was a man of vivacity, and of a bold spirit. His examination by the Presbytery, in the matter of Montrose, is delivered by tradition more full than is contained in the Register. Montrose had called at his house on the morning of the day of the battle. Mr Balneaves waited on him, and gave him at his desire a drink of water. When reproved by the brethren for this hospitality, he answered them in expressions more coarse than what were fit to be recorded in the Register. The *purport* of

his answer was, that however they might *now* find fault with them who had shewn any civility to the Marquiss, yet there was not one of them who, *about the time of the battle*, durst have refused to kiss, *in the meanest manner*, the Marquis, if he had commanded them so to do.

The ministers, at the above mentioned privy censures, were required to declare if any of their parishioners had joined the Marquiss, or discovered an affection to the cause of the King. Mr John Robertson, minister of Perth, declared, 'that there were certain persons, malignants, in his congregation of Perth, who, on the day of the battle, as also at other times, declared themselves enemies to the good Cause, and Covenant, both by their speeches and actions; viz., Andrew Archibald, in Perth; William Rae, there; Andrew Robertson there: Others he knew none.'

No charge as yet had been brought against Mr Robertson for conversing with Montrose.)

'Presbytery Register, October 23, 1644.

'The Brethren appointed, viz., Mr George Halyburton, Mr Alexander Balneaves, Mr James Olyphant, gave in their several declarations under their own hand, anent the matter of the censure of the preceding dyet.'

[*Note by the original Transcriber.*]

(N.B.—Their declarations are not recorded.)

'Presbytery Register, November 27, 1644.

'This day an letter was presented from the Commissioners of the General Assembly, dated at Edinburgh, November 8, 1644, subscribed by the Moderator, Mr Robert Bennet, requiring the brethren of the Presbytery to cause summon Mr George Halyburton, minister at Perth, conform to the principal summons to be sent back to them execute and indorsed, to compear the 27 November instant, before the Commissioners of the General Assembly, to answer for his *conversing, eating and drinking*, and *saying of grace to meat*, to James Earl of Montrose, an excommunicat person; that he may receive due censure according to his offences.

'The Brethern, in respect Mr George was absent, and already gone to Edinburgh, hoping before his return that he compear before them and answer to his accusation, continues to give their answer till his return.

'Also in the said letter, diligence is required to be used by the Brethren, for tryal of any other ministers, or persons whatsomever, having conversed, or had correspondence with Montrose; and notice hereof to be given unto them. Ordains the Brethern to be advertised to be present next day, that enquiry may be made to the foresaid effect; and an perfect answer to be returned accordingly.

[*Note by the original Transcriber.*]

(N.B.—The Commission of the General Assembly was at this time, perhaps, the most formidable Court that ever had existed in this country. It is one of the many excellencies of the Presbyterian form of Church Government, that ministers enjoy greater liberty under it than they would do under the tyranny of Bishops. But all liberty of private judgment, it has been often and justly complained, was taken away by the Ecclesiastical Commission. The ministers throughout the Kingdom were intimidated, and frequently at a loss how to act so as to please that Court.

Mr William Row, minister of Forgandenny, being to go to Edinburgh, 'it was recommended to him by the Presbytery, November 20, 1644, to ask the judgment of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, what shall be the carriage, behaviour, and conversation of ministers, with those persons who had joined themselves to Montrose, and were now returned upon my Lord Argyle his pass, and are remaining in divers parishes within the Presbytery, particularly in the parishes of Errol and St Madoes.'

An event, probably little foreseen or suspected by the Presbytery of Perth, happened at Edinburgh, November 27, 1644. The Commission there, at their afternoon's meeting that day, deposed Mr George Halyburton from the office of the ministry, because of the offence which he had formerly confessed to the Presbytery.

The General Assembly, finding it necessary to make frequent use of the sentence of excommunication, in supporting the cause of the Covenant, passed an act, August 19, 1643, the tenour of which was, 'If any minister haunt the company of an excommunicate person, contrary to the laws of this Kirk, the said minister, for his first fault, shall be suspended from his ministry by the Presbytery, during their pleasure; and, for the second fault, be deprived. And in case the Presbyteries be negligent herein, the provincial Assembly shall censure the Presbytery thus negligent.'

According to this act, the Presbytery of Perth should have suspended Mr

George Halyburton from his ministry. But perhaps his once conversing with Montrose, especially at that time when Montrose had entered Perth with a conquering army, and all men were in fear of him, they did not reckon to come under the designation of 'haunting the company' of an excommunicate person.

The Commission had no act of the Church whatever, on which they could found their sentence of deposition against Mr Halyburton. Public intimation, however, of that sentence, was not made till it was afterwards ratified by the General Assembly.)

'Presbytery Register, December 25, 1644.

'Forsomeikle as Mr John Robertson is to compear, according to the summons given to him, before the Commissioners of the General Assembly, he humbly denies the testificate of the Brethern, concerning his carriage in the ministry; particularly anent the advancing the good cause, and opposing of malignants; namely, since Montrose his entering to Perth the 1st of September last. Whilk, after voicing, was granted.

'Likewise Mr George Halyburton desires an supplication from the Brethern to the said Commissioners for his reponing to his ministry at Perth. Whilk was also granted.

'Ordains the said testificate and supplication to be in readiness against the next day; and therefore recommended to Mr John Hall, minister of Dumbarny, Mr David Wemyss, minister of Scone, Mr William Bell, minister of Drone, and Mr Edward Richardson, minister of Forteviot; and appointed to them to meet at Perth, the 30th of this instant, to the foresaid effect.'

[*Note by the original Transcriber.*]

(N.B.—Though Mr James Olyphant was to compear likewise before the Commission, yet he desired no testificate. He had friends among the nobility. Mr George Halyburton likewise had friends among the nobility; particularly his near relation, Dame Margaret Halyburton, Lady of Lord Coupar, who exerted themselves strenuously in his behalf.

But Mr John Robertson had no great person to appear in his behalf. He had friends among the ministers, but they were intimidated. Some of the nobility who acted as ruling elders in the Commission, and who had greater changes in view than were generally apprehended, making use of the well meant zeal of a few

eminent men among the clergy, would brook no opposition, but pursued such rigorous measures as were very oppressive at the time, and in the end occasioned great detriment to the affairs and character of the Church. Mr Wodrow, speaking of the outward prosperity of the Church after the year 1638, says: 'It is hard to manage a full cup, and I shall not take upon me to defend every step in that happy period.'

The burgh of Perth might perhaps have exerted their influence to some good effect in behalf of their minister, Mr Robertson. But perhaps also they were afraid of the consequences of falling in any degree under the charge of malignancy.

Andrew Reid, one of the witnesses summoned by the Commission to bear testimony of Mr Robertson's having conversed with the Marquis of Montrose, was perhaps, in point of wealth, the most eminent citizen of Perth at that time. He had no doubt been in the number of those citizens who were obliged to contribute money to Montrose's army. Principal Baillie says, that after the battle of Tibbermuir, the Marquis raised a supply of nine thousand merks from the town of Perth. But there is reason to apprehend that Andrew Reid would not be a willing witness against Mr Robertson. Mr Patrick Maxwell, the other witness, was charged afterwards by the Presbytery with having acted as Secretary to Montrose, when at Perth, after the battle of Tibbermuir. And when Charles II. was crowned at Scone, January 1, 1651, Andrew Reid advanced towards defraying the expences of the Coronation, forty thousand merks, for which the King gave bond. After Oliver Cromwell, in the month of August 1651, had taken possession of Perth, Andrew Reid presented to him the King's bond, and craved payment. Cromwell replied: 'I am neither heir nor executor to Charles Stuart.' Mr Reid presently answered: 'Then you are *a vicious intromitter*.' Cromwell, turning to one of his officers, said that such a bold speech never had been made to him before. Andrew Reid died by an accident, October 14, 1658.[1])

[1] I am not aware that this graphic anecdote has entered any of the biographies of Cromwell.

The notes which follow these Extracts are by the original transcriber, the Reverend James Scott, whose MSS. were purchased for the Advocates' Library. He was one of the Presbyterian ministers of Perth from 1762 to his resignation, on account of old age and infirmity, in 1806. See the Book of Perth, by John Parker Lawson, M.A. 1847, p. 121.

II.

Proclamation by Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth.

Charles Rex.

A proclamation of Grace and Pardon to all such as shall submitt to His Majesties mercy, and returne to their allegiance.

Although upon our first coming to Nottingham, when Wee left the County of Yorke, and ever since, Wee have by frequent Messages sollicited the members of both Houses of Parliament, remayning at Westminster, for a peace and accommodation, Wee, to free our subjects from those miseries which must be the inevitable consequent of a Civill Warre, and (meerly in that respect) condescended to things otherwise farre unfitt for our Royall dignity, yet have Wee not heretofore been so happy as to obteyne it; but much christian blood hath been spilt, plentiful countries wasted, ... people impoverished (the thought whereof makes our hart bleed in secret), and the continuance of the warre must be the perpetuating of our subiects misery: For the ending whereof, Wee have resolved (as the most hopefull way) to returne to our county of Yorke (where Wee had the first experience of our subiects readines to assist us against the Rebells) and into our Northerne counties, by whose unanimous ioyning with us (according to their allegiance) against the rebells, and God's assistance upon our proceedings, Wee hope wee shall be able suddainly to restore them and other our subiects, to the blessings of peace. And because Wee believe many of our subiects have been compelled and necessitated, others with much subtilty misled, into this rebellion, which was at the first carried on by the contrivers under the name of a warre for King and Parliament, for preservation of our honour, rights of our Crowne, and safety of our person (to redeem it from the hands of evill Councellours) for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, the lawes, liberty, and property of the subiect, and priviledges of Parliament, being such specious pretences as (being countenanced with the name of two Houses of Parliament) might easily seduce our People; Wee doe out of our grace and goodnes tender them our free pardon, hereby publishing and declaring, that all our subiects, of what estate, degree, and condition whatsoever, without exception, that

shall within ten dayes after the publication of this proclamation submitt to our mercy, and returne to their allegiance for suppressing this rebellion, shall receive our free and gracious pardon for all offences committed or done, in or by the prosecuting, promoting, assisting, or countenancing this rebellion, or which have any relation thereunto. And Wee shall receive their persons and Estates into our protection, which (on the word of a King) Wee will effectually make good unto them. But if any shall wilfully persist in their errours, after they have seen so much prophanation in the Church, scorne to the Protestant religion, and abolishing the booke of Common Prayer established by Law, so much oppression of our free subiects by depriving them of their lives and liberty without and against law, usurpation upon the rights of our Crowne, violation of Laws and priviledges of Parliament, and when the meanest capacity cannot but find (what was by many foreseen) that the end of this rebellion is, with our person and posterity, to destroy even Monarchy itselfe, and alter the Ancient government of the Kingdome both in Church and State, and bring our subiects under the slavery of some of the Scottish Nation,—Wee must let such know, Wee . . . . . our mercy; and doubt not but God, who hath placed us on our throne, will enable us to bring them to condigne punishment, by the hand of justice. And because some pretend, as a reason of their neglect in assisting us hitherto, the want of our commands to that purpose, Wee hereby require and command all men of able bodies, between the ages of 16 and 60, forthwith upon notice hereof to repaire to us in person, with the best armies they can get, and, according to their allegiance, assist us to suppresse the present rebellion, resettle the peace of the Kingdome, defend our person, rights of our Croune, and their own property, and liberty of subiects, and mainteyne the true Protestant religion, and the privileges of Parliament (beyond which Wee shall not desire their assistance), and put themselves under commanders of their owne country, or such others upon whose wisdome, experience, and honesty, they shall willingly rely: And Wee cannot but hold the Contemners of our command herein inexcusable. Although the continuance of the troubles will inforce us (while the Rebells withold our revenues from us) to require supply from our subiects, yet in respect of those our counties Wee are resolved to ease them from the taxe of Excise; and shall moderate the Contribution with as much ease to them as the necessity of tymes shall permitt; and with such equality as commissioners of the same County shall thinke fitt; and as soon as our service and their safety shall permitt, abate or take the same totally away; desiring nothing

more than to free them from that and all other taxes and charges occasioned by the present rebellion.

Given at our Court at Welbecke, the Seventeenth of A[ugust] . . . . . and twentieth yeare of our Raigne.

God Save the King.

[Endorsed in a contemporary hand] His Majesties Proclamation, emitted by James Grahame.[1]

III.

Declarations of certain Synods against Montrose.

[The following illustrations of the mean and malevolent state of Ecclesiastical dominion, as displayed under the Covenant in Scotland, afford a useful commentary upon those histories which assume that such intolerance, and the seeming popular adherence to the Covenant and its barbarous ways in Scotland, was a general, spontaneous, inherent feeling, characteristic of that unhappy nation. The original documents which here stand recorded (among many others), against such historical theories and assumptions, were unexpectedly transmitted to the Editor from Whitehaven, along with other valuable papers, by John Mackinlay, Esq., as more particularly mentioned in the Preface to Part III. Vol. I. p. 212.

With these papers was the contemporary transcript of Montrose's record of *Protections* and *Passes*, which he had granted to all the lieges who flocked to him for safety. This most natural movement greatly exasperated that rabid faction of

[1] Original, Hamilton Papers. This Proclamation is one of the documents of which his Grace the Duke of Hamilton ordered transcripts to be furnished to the Editor. I am not aware that it has ever hitherto been printed, or noticed. The royal signature is the autograph of Charles I., and it is noted on the back, in a contemporary hand, that it was 'emitted by James Grahame.' It bears date at Welbeck, two days after the battle of Kilsyth. No doubt it had been intended to strengthen the hands of Montrose, whose object ever was, in his most triumphant moments, to treat his misguided countrymen with the utmost lenity and forbearance. The blanks are in consequence of some of the words having been destroyed by the folds of the paper.

the Kirk, which, unfortunately for the peace and character of Scotland, was again in the ascendant, when the jealousy of his own compeers deprived the nation of its best protector. The voluminous list of those who gave in their adherence to his humane and too transient dominion, will be perused with interest.]

DECLARATIONS AGAINST THOSE WHO SHOULD TAKE PROTECTIONS FROM MONTROSE, WITH A LIST OF THEIR NAMES THAT HAD TAKEN.

MERSE AND TWEDALE.

Of Protections.

We conceive everie protectione taken from James Graham, or anie of his complices, by anie who hes sworne and subscryved the Solemne League and Covenant, to be unlawfull, and contraire to that Covenant.

1. Becaus it involves in a tacit approbatione of their opinions of our guiltines in joyning in the same, and of their purpose and practises in repressing thereof.

2. Becaus it ingages, if not to be active for them, yet to doe nothing against them.

Of Capitulations.

Capitulationes are reducable to these two:—1st, When without anie furder ingagement, a Shier, or Burghe, or familie, or persons, redeeme themselves from the present violence of the enemie by a summe of money. This we take to be unlawfull, wher ther are probable meanes of preservatione by flight, or defence by staying, left unto us. Becaus it argues a neglect of the use of that power which God hes put into our hands, and strengthens the hand of the enemie. The other branche is when anie Shier, Burghe, &c. ingage themselves by pactione, unto the neglect of ther duetie, in pursuing those ends expressed in the Covenant, or be anie wayes active for the enemie in seeking to destroye the samme. This is unlawfull, as directlie opposit unto the Covenant.

Besides those who have involved themselves in the guiltines of capitulations, and protections, we als judge those to be guiltie of the breache of Covenant:—1. They who have spoken malignantlie [in favour of the King.] 2. They who have stayed at ther houses, and countenanced and intertained the enemie, or convoyed and been guides unto them. 3. They who have declined to do ther duetie, in dis-

obeying publike orders. 4. They who have sent intelligence to the enemie. 5. They who have beene active in seducing people to joine with the enemie. 6. They who have sent supplie of men, victualls, or amunitione unto the enemie. 7. They who have joined in actuall service with the enemie.

Of Censures.

All and everie one of those thinges above written we conceive to be censurable, by publike Ecclesiasticke censure, and declaratione of the repentance of those who are guiltie of anie of them; because they carrie alongs with them a grievous scandall given unto the Lords People, unto the discouraging of the hearts, and weakening of their hands, in the defence of themselves and the treuthe.

Such is the varietes of cases of Delinquents, that we thinke it hard to fall upon rules of censure applicable to everie particulare in everie circumstance thereof; and therfore conceives it necessarie to leave some latitude unto Presbyteries in prescryving the circumstances of satisfactione according to the degrees of the offence. Yet these generallie we judge expedient:—

1. That all satisfactione for malignancie be publike, before the congregation.

2. That where one or two, or some five of a congregatione onlie are guiltie, that they satisfie, everie one of them, by a particulare confessione of their fault.

3. That wher whole congregationes, burrowes, or shires, are guiltie, that those amongst them who have been seduced of others be put to solemne publike repentance; and that there be a day of publike humiliatione and fasting appointed for those congregationes, &c., wherin the doctrine sall prove unto the convincing them of their offence, and they joine in prayer and supplicatione to God for pardon of the same.

4. That they who have joined with the enemie, and taene armes against Gods People, satisfie as *murderers*, if anie of them sall escape the hand of civill justice.

Fife.

We conceave Capitulation to be unlawfull. 1. Because it is a divisive motione, directly tending to the renting of those that are united in one Covenant; and so a breach of Covenant, and real perjurie. Because it is nether doing nor suffering for the Cause and Covenant, altho we were then in a special maner called to give

a testimonie to the Cause; and we know no thrid, besyds doing and suffering, wherby we can bear witnes to the Cause.

Taking Protections we conceave to be unlawfull. 1. Because it is a going from under Gods protection, being an act of making haste in distrust. 2. It is an acknowledgment of our undertakings, for the cause of God, to be unnaturall rebellion. 3. Because it implyes the giving of assurance of submission to the rebells courses, by the receaver therof, in those words,—'*wheras we are assured of the loyaltie of such a person, and faithfulnes to his Majesties service.* 4. Because it is a binding up of our hands from doing any thing against the rebells, being granted in contemplation of that which they call *continuance in loyaltie.*

Corrupters of Shyrs or neighbours specially to be taken notice of. Next, procurers of protections to themselves or others. Thirdly, receavers and concealers therof. Fourthly, such as neither fled nor defended themselves, but sheltered themselves under the protection of malignants.

Concerning Passes accepted from James Grahame, with that knowen damnable clause, &c., we judge them unlawfull, becaus the accepting thereof implies not only a tacit acknoweledgment of the lawfulnes of the usurped power and authoritie of the excommunicat rebell, but also that the persons accepters ar rebells, and that our League and Covenant is ane horrid and unnaturall rebellion.

Concerning Protections, we judge them simply unlawfull, in regaird they are taken be those who were not under the power of the enemie; implying also the forsaid rebellion of persons and Covenant, togiddir with a condiscendance to comply with them in their unnaturall rebellion, under the tune of loyaltie.

Concerning Capitulations with the enemie be those who are not under their power, we judge them unlawfull, because the end of capitulatione being protection. at least, the resone forsaid militates against them; besyd that they import a diffidence of Gods providence.

Therfor we think, that whosoever is guiltie of the forsaids faults, or any of them, sould be Ecclesiastically censured, less or more according to the degree of their fault; that God may be glorified be their repentance, and the scandal removed.

LOTHIAN.

We conceive that the best way of discovering the evill of Capitulations, Passes, and Protections, is to shew how destructive they are to the Nationall Covenant, to the Solemne League and Covenant, to the Declarations, Remonstrances, Supplications for *executing of justice against malignants and delinquents*,[1] and to all acts of Ecclesiasticall Judicatories.

How contrarie they are to the Solemne League and Covenant may appear by these :—

That the receiving of Passes and Protections, and entering in capitulation with the enemie, is directlie contrarie to that which is in the narrative of the League and Covenant, and which we declare in the sight of God to be the cause of our entering in the said League, namelie, the strengthening of ourselfs against the common enemie.

The receiving of Protections, &c., is contrarie to the article wherein we sweare to mantaine the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk of Scotland; because by a publick act of the Kirk James Grahame was excommunicat.

That the receiving of Protections, &c., is contrarie to the article wherein we sweare by no terror or persuasion to suffer ourselfs to be divided from that League and Covenant, or one from another, in the defense thereof, either by joyning ourselfs with the enemie, or *falling into indifferent neutralitie*.

The receiving of Protections, &c., is against the article wherein we sweare to endeavour, according to our place and power, *to bring delinquents to condign punishment*.

It has been the care and labour of the Kirk of Scotland, this whole year bypast, and above, by Declarations, supplications to the Estates, warnings publick and generall, fasts and acts of the Generall Assemblie and Commission, to declare *him and his accomplices to be the enemies of this Kirk and State*; and that all might be informed how to behave themselfs against such an enemie.

For Censures, we conceive for the present that all who have joyned in actuall rebellion, or hes had ane correspondence with the enemie, sould be proceedit against with all Ecclesiasticall censures; and in the meane time removed from all Ecclesiasticall functions; and, for the more orderlie proceeding, that Presby-

[1] See *supra*, p. 245.

teries try and tak notice of the severall degrees of the offenders, and delate them to the Commission.[1]

IV.

List of Protections and Passes granted by Montrose after the Battle of Kilsyth.

Double of James Grahme his Principall Book of Protectiounes.

The toune of Linlithgow.
The toune of Falkirk.
The toune of Glasgow.
The earle of Airth his landis.
The earle of Callender.
Livingstoun of Westquarter
Sr Robert Douglas of Spot.
Fleymeing comissar of Glasgow.
Mr James Aikinheid.
Sr Lues Stewart.
Laird of Lauchope.
Stewart of [blank], indualler in Boot.
Parrochineres of Kilbryd.
Parochine of Irwing.
Minister of Falkirk.
Minister of Linlithgow.
Callender minister.
Johne Burne of Lerbar.
Johne McCrie and Malcolme Broun.
Portioneres of Dunnan.

[1] A notable illustration of the proceedings of the Kirk, in the case of public censure for *backsliding*, occurred in the case of the Chancellor Loudon, who treated the 'Brethern' with a grand field-day on his own account. Loudon, in the first instance, joined Hamilton in the Engagement for the King against the Kirk, and thereafter, seeing how matters were likely to end, joined Argyle's rising in the West against the Engagers. In a letter from the Earl of Abercorn, addressed, strange to say, to that quondam pillar and pet of the Kirk, *Lauderdale*, this graphic sentence occurs:—

'I doubt not but, before this comes to you, that your Lordship will have heard from better hands, how that on Thursday the 14th of this instant (December 1648),—being through this whole Kingdom an universal day of fasting and humiliation, in preparing for renewing the League and Covenant, with some little additions,—my Lord Chancellor made his *solemn repentance* in Master Robert Douglas's kirk; where, in a speech, he did relate many of the errors he had committed in his last employment in England, and especially his great breach of Covenant and horrible fault in the Isle of Wight [where the Engagement was got up]; which he did acknowledge with *such abundance of tears*, that, as it is reported, they did draw a great many of the like from the auditors; such as, *the minister himself*, the *Marquis of Argyle*, and *Lord Warriston*, and many *tender hearted ladies*, with a great many others of both sexes who were present.'—(Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 463.)

Lady Langtoun.
[Blank] Patersoune of Kynneir.
Johne Monteith of Carsibray.
Johne Stewart of Quhythallis, be east the Queinsferie.
Pass for Mr Fredrek Carmichell, minister, prisoner.
Pass for Mr Thomas Kirkcaldy, prisoner.
Pass for Captane Hew Abercrumbie.
Protect: for Mr [blank] Forsyth, minister.
Pro: the lord Sempell his landis of Glasford.
Johne Somerveill in Overtoun of Cambusnethan, pro:
James Somerveill there.
Pro: Doctor Robert Hamiltoun, bischope of Caithnes.
James Somerveill, wrytter.
Pro: Mr James Hamiltoun, minister of Cambusnethan.
Sr James Somerveill of Cambusnethan.
Patrick Somerveill, his brother, pro:
Johne Somerveill, younger of Cambusnethan, pro:
Pro: to Sr Robert Drummond of Medhope.
Pro: to Sr William Murray of Livingstoun.
Pro: to Sr James Stewart of Kirkhill.
Pro: to Mr George Dundas of Stennihill.
Pro: to William Drummond of Riccartoun.
Pro: to Thomas Dalzell of Binnes.
Pro: to Sr Archibald Sterling.
Pass to William Stewart and Walter McTaggart, servitores to the Laird of Keir.
Pass to James Cleiland of Fostand.
Pro: to Mr John Dunlope in Grintruk.
Pro: to John Borland in Murehoussis, and to the rest of the tenentis of the ten pund land of Kennedyis Earnock.

19 day [August 1645.]

Pro: and pass to Archibald Meikill and his sone in Preistgill
Pro: to Joun Murcheid in Wodsyd.
Pro: to James Weir of Carss.
Pro: to James Weir of Kirkfeild.
Pro: to Hew Weir of Clochburne.
Pro: to Cornelius Inglis in Wodend.
Pro: to Williame Inglis of Dascheill.
Pass to Captane James Inglis.
Pass to Captane Archibald McNaker, for releiseing of John Leith of Hart, elder.
Pro: to Robert Baillie of Jarrestoun, and his mother.
Pro: to James Robertoun of Earnock.
Pass to James Dicke and John Dougall, servitor to the Earle of Mortoun.

20 August 1645.

Pro: to James Murcheid of Breadstoun.
Pro: to Alexander Maxwell of Malsley.
Pro: to Thomas Stevinesone in Clydsyd.
Pro: to Thomas Murcheid of Kirkhill.
Pro: to Alexander Hamiltoun of Hagis.

Pro: to James Hamiltoun of Thankertoun.
Pro: to Margaret Hamiltoun of Cairnebrae.
Pro: to John Cleland of Fostand.
Pro: Mr James Crawfoord of Rochloche.
Pro: James Crawfoord of Kibbyr.
Pro: Mathow Newlandis of Keipes.
Pro: to John Mureheid of Bredinhill.
Pro: to John Cuninghame of Gilbertfeild.
Pro: to Robert Hamiltoun in Kerisland, and Johne Miller there.
Pro: to Robert Chancellor of Scheilhill.
Pro: to Sara Ingrame, widow in Hamiltoun.
Pass to George Baillie in Gerreswood.
Pro: to George Baillie in Gerreswood.
Pro: to Robert Baillie in Walstin.
Pro: to John Alexander, baillie of Lesmago.
Pro: to James Hamiltoun of Senhous.
Pro: to David Hamiltoun of Aschetule.
Pro: to Alexander Baillie of Bagbie.
Pro: to Robert Wert of Sillis.
Pro: to James Hamiltoun of Stanhous.
Pro: to William Weir in Stainbyres.
Pro: to Grissell Lockhart, lady Corhous.
Pro: to Dame Jeane Auchinleck, lady Ley.
Pro: to John Lockhart of Headis.
Pro: to Williame Selkirk in Greinheid, and Patrick Rankeine there.
Pro: to Johne Baillie of St Johnes Kirk.
Pro: to Sr Francis Douglas, brother to the Marques of Douglas.
Pro: to Stevine Lockhart of Wicketschaw.
Pro: to the Lady Sinclar.
Pro: to Mr James Hamiltoun, minister.
Pro: to James Skeine in Hamiltoun.
Pro: to James Hamiltoun in Rosse.
Pro: to Robert Hamiltoun in Rig, and Johne Allane in Riddren.
Pro: to Patrick Miller in Litle Idstoun, and Thomas Pollock there.
Pro: to John Barro in Thin Aikeres.
Pro: to Alexander Tayes in Hilisyd.
Pro: to John Sempill in East Quarter of Glasfoord.
Pro: to William Mairchell in Heidis of Glesfoord.
Pro: to William Lindsay of Kirkwood, with ane pass to him.
Pass to the young laird of Rosline and his brother.
Pro: to Symon Brisbane of Selviland.
Pro: to Robert Pollocke, fier of that ilk.
Pro: to Patricke Fleyming of Barrochane.
Pro: to Sr Archbald Stewart of Blackhall.
Pro: to John Brisbane of Bischoptoun.
Pro: to James Stelneng of Boghall.
Pro: to John Stewart, fear of Blackhall.
Pro: to Alexander Porterfeild of Douchall.
Pro: to Robert Pollock, fear of that ilk.
Pro: to Mathow Brisbane of Rosland.
Pro: to the Earle of Wigtoun.

Pro: to the Lord Fleyming.
Pro: to the Laird of Covingtoun.
Pro: to John Logane of Drumchappell.
Pro: to Adame Colquhome of Glenis.
Pro: to the toun of Dunbartan.
Pro: to Mongo Lindsay of Bonnill.
Pro: to Elizabeth Chrichtoun and William Whyt of Mairchell, hir sone.
Pro: to Andro Quhyt, Mr of the Tolbuth of Edinburgh.
Pro: to Mr James Quhyt, his brother.
Pro: to Harie Broun of Dausneip.
Pro: to Mr James Lang, minister at Kirkinlurde.
Pro: to James Duncane of Ratho.
Pro: to the Laird of Luss.
Pro: to the Duke of Lennoxe, for his landis of Kelmarnock.
Pro: to William Blair, his baillie.
Pro: to James Mureheid, younger of Lauchope.
Pro: to George Wauchope, Robert McKeane, George Mairchell, and Robert Aichisone, burgessis of Edinburgh.
Pass to the saidis burgessis.
Pass to George Wood of Colpneysheill.
Pro: Hew Montgumrie of Auchinheid, and the minister of Gleshame.
Pro: to the Laird of Grenock.
Pro: to George Wood of Colpney
Pro: to the Laird of Romanno.
Pro: to the toune of Peibles.
Pro: to the Laird of Cleish.
Pro: to the toune of Torriburne.
Pro: Alexander Purves and George Scot, burgessis of Edinburgh.
Pro: to the Laird of McLachlan of that Ilk.
Pro: to Mr Ewne Cameron, minister at Denune.
Pro: to Robert Hamiltoun of Barnes.
Pro: to Walter McAulay of Ardincaple.
Pro: to James Smollet, provest of Dumbartoun.
Pro: to my Lord Lintoun and Sr Alexander Murray.
Pro: to the Laird of Touche, and Mr James Gordoun.
Pro: to Mr James Maitland.
Pass to John Philp, servant to my Lord Carnegie.
Pass to Mr William Burnet, thesaurer clerk.
Pro: to Beatoun of Balfour.
Pro: to Archibald Tod, deane of gild of Edinburgh.
Pro: to Alexander Hay of Monktoune.
Pro: to George Stirling, portioner of Kilrynen.
Pro: to Mr Thomas Aikenheid, commissar of Edinburgh.
Pro: to [blank] Kirkcaldy of Grange.
Pro: to Sr James Lermonth of Balcomy.
Pro: to Sr John Prestoun of Airdie.
Pro: to Johne and Alexander Spotswood, lawfull sones to Sr Robert Spotswood.
Pro: to Mr David Forsyth, regent of the Colledge of Glesgow.
Pro: to Mr John Gibnure, advocate.

Pas to George Abernethie, servant to the Laird of Dunypace.
Pro: to Mr Robert Gilmure, wreater, and James Baillie of [blank.]
Pro: to John Ramsay, wreater in Edinburgh
Pro: to James Gibsone, advocat.
Pro: to Mr Frederk Carmichael, minister at Markinche.
Pro: to Sr Johne Byres.
Pro: to Sr Johne Auchtmoutie.
Pro: to Edward Edger of Peppermylne.
Pro: to Sr Androw Fleschor of Saltoun.
Pro: to James Airchibald of Blackhall.
Pro: to Walter Moultrey in Merkinsche.
Pro: to Sr John Hay of [blank.]
Pro: to Sr Thomas Thomsone of Dudingstoun.
Pro: to Mr James Durhame of Pitkerro.
Pro: to Sr Harie Nisbet of Restalrig.
Pro: to Sr David Auchtmoutie.
Pro: to James Moultrey of Rescobie.
Pro: to the Clerk Register.
Pass and Pro: to his brother.
Pro: to Sr Williame Bruce of Stenhous, Mr Harie Foulles, advocat, and Mr John Kyneir, wryter.
Pro: to Janet Jacksone, relict of umquhill Patrick Bruce of Newtoun.
Pro: to Doctor William Oliver in Falkirk.
Pro: to John Givene, wreater in Glesgow.
Pro: to Mr David Williamsone, clerk of Stirling.
Pro: to the Lady Burghtoun.
Pro: to the Lady West Cars.
Pro: to John Cumyng, burges of Glasgow.
Pro: to Mr Williame Maxwell, advocat.
Pro: to John Fleymeing, burges of Edinburgh.
Pro: to James Crawfoord, burges of Linlithgow.
Pro: to John Slowane & Adame Mitchellsone, burgessis of Edinburgh.
Pro: to Robert Hendersone, burges of Edinburgh.
Pro: to Thomas Wilsone, ventiner in Edinburgh.
Pro: to Gilbert Hardie, burges of Edinburgh.
Pro: to Robert Hardie, brewer in Edinburgh.
Pro: to Mr John Boyd of Trochrig.
Pro: to John Edgeris, elder and younger, burgessis of Edinburgh.
Pro: to Thomas Kennedy of Dumbie.
Pro: to John Ross of Trower.
Pro: to James Kennedy of Brigend.
Pro: to Hew Cathcart of Carletoun.
Pro: to Hew Kennedy of Girvan.
Pro: to Robert M'Alexander of Corslayes.
Pro: to Walter Mure in Clonked.
Pro: to Hew Kennedy of Drimellan.
Pro: to the Earle of Abercorne.
Pro: to Archibald Stewart of Scotistoun.
Pro: to Sr Williame Murray of Newtoun, Aikinheid. [*Sic.*]

Pro: to Alexander Bothwell of Glencorss.
Pro: to Mr William Drummond of Hathornedeane.
Pro: to Alexander Stewart in Fyff.
Pro: to Mr William Naper of Wrichthoussis.
Pro: to Mr Androw Ramsay, minister.
Pro: to Mr William Colvill, minister.
Pro: to Mr Alexander Guthrie, clerk.
Pro: to Sr John Nicolsone of Leswaid.
Pro: to Mr John Cant in Paintlend.
Pro: to Sr William Nisbit of Deane.
Pro: to Sr William Sinclair of Rosline.
Pro: to Sr John Hay of [blank.]
Pro: to Sr Thomas Thomsone of Dudingston.
Pro: to Sr Harie Nisbit of Restalrig.
Pro: to my Lord Sempell.
Pro: to Mr Hew Montgomrie of Silverwood, Mr William Wallace, Richard Bruce.
Pro: to Mr Williame Dunlope of Craigie, Allane Dunlope, fier thereof, Robert Mure of Thortoun.
Pro: to James Dunlope, Laird of Dunlope.
Pro: to Alexander Maxwell of Mausley.
Pro: to Thomas Mudy of Dalry.
Pro: to Anna Maxwell, relict of umquhill James McMorane.
Pro: to James Lord Mordingtoun.
Pass to James Durhame, his servitor.
Pro: to James Hamiltoun of Grang.
Pro: to Sr Robert Halket of Pitfirrine.
Pro: to Dame Margaret Countes of Dumferling & Callender.
Pass to Alexander Livingstoun, chamberland to the Earle of Callender.
Pro: to Sr William Hamiltoun of Elistoun.
Pro: to the burghe of Irwing.
Pro: to Hellen Hamiltoun of Kirkhill, and Mungo Thomsone, hir tenent.
Pro: to Margaret Hamiltoun, Doctor Baillies wyff.
Pro: to Mr James Hamiltoun of Mores, and Margaret Thomsone, his spous.
Pro: to James Hamiltoun of Schattoun.
Pro: to James Hamiltoun of Shattoun.
Pass to Williame Merstoun, burges of Edinburgh.
Pass to William Smettoun, merchand burges of Edinburgh.
Pass to James Maistertoun, merchand burges of Edinburgh.
Pass to William Smyth, portioner of Nungate.
Pro: to William Johnstoun in Wolmet.
Pro: William & James Johnstounes there.
Pro: to Archibald, John, & Robert Hislopes, in Monktounhill, and James Douglas there.
Pro: to John Taidier in Calcasyde.
Pro: to James Forman in Drem.
Pro: to Thomas Forman, portioner of Ineresk.
Pro: to John Merstoun, portioner of Ineresk.

Pro: to Thomas Forman, wreater in Edinburgh.
Pro: to Cathraine & Agnes Formanes.
Pro: to James Maistertoun, merchand burges of Edinburgh.
Pro: to William Sanctoun, merchand burges of Edinburgh.
Pro: to Dame [blank] Prestoun, relict of umquhill Sr Robert Hepburne.
Pro: to George Halket of Lumsmans.
Pro: to Mr Oliver Colt, minister.
Pro: to Jannet Baillie, Lady Raploche.
Pass & Pro: to John Murray of Levelandis.
Pro: to Duncane Tosche, natural brother to Andro Tosche of Monyvaird.
Pass to Peter Blair, major.
Pass to James Ogilvie, brother to the Earle of Airlie.
Pro: to the lands of Lowdoun and Cesnock.
Pro: to Sr Robert Montgomrie of Skelmorley.
Pro: to Patrick Schaw of Kelsoland.
Pro: to Mr Patrick Hamiltoun, minister at Kenisland.
Pro: to Sr John Seatoun of Barnes.
Pro: to Robert Hamiltoun of Mylneburne.
Pro: to Walter Reid in Mylnetoun.
Pro: to Archibald Butter of Coutis.
Pro: to Patrick Butter of Gormiock.
Pro: & Pass to [blank] Bruce of Auchinbowy.
Pass to Mr James Gordoun, wrytter.
Pass & Pro: to John Murray of Livelandes.
Pro: to the Earle of Mar and Edward Brown, his man.
Pro: to [blank] Blair of that ilk and Robert Blair of Lochwood.
Pro: to Sr Williame Cunnynghame of Cunnyngheid.
Pro: to Williame Cunnynghame of Aik and his mother.
Pro: to Mr Hew Eglintoun, minister at Dunlope.
Pro: to John Cunnynghame of Beadland.
Pro: to Fredreck Cunnynghame of Southhook.
Pro: to Margaret Fleymeing, Lady Robertland.
Pro: to David Watsone, George Buchanan, and Issobell Lautie, in Dumbartoun.
Pro: William Campbell of Holl, burges there.
Pro: to Robert Seatoun, baillie of Tranent.
Pro: to James Hamiltoun of Wischaw.
Pro: to Thomas Baillie of Pilcemmet.
Pro: to James Fraser of Sernok.
Pass & Pro: to Mr William Wallace of Hebingtoun.
Pro: to the Laird of Touche.
Pro: to George Cleland in Glesgow.
Pass to William Seatoun, uncle to the Laird of Touche.
Pro: Lord Torpichen.
Pro: James Nairne in Goursnouth.

Pro: Robert Portious, elder & younger, in Newbatle.
Pro: John Howisone in Westpanes.
Pro: to David Wilkie of Dolphingstoun.
Pro: to Mr Cornelius Ansley in Windigoull.
Pro: to James Winrhame of Corrihill.
Pro: Walter Cant in Quhythill.
Pro: to Mr James Sydserff of Rochlaw.
Pro: to James Hopper of Bourhoussis.
Pro: Archibald Sydserff, burges of Edinburgh.
Pro: John Trumble of Gurmyres.
Pro: James Carmichell of Potischaer.
Pro: to George Sinclair in Rosline.
Pro: for the toun of Dalkeith.
Pro: for Mernes and Angus.
Pro: to George Stirling, burges of Edinburgh.
Pro: to [blank] Haitlie of Sneip.
Pro: to Johne Livingstoun of Nether Lugas.
Pro: to Sr James Hamiltoun of Reidhill & his mother.
Pro: the Laird of Whittinghame.
Pro: to Patrick Creichtoun in Preistfeild.
Pro: to Mr Andro Borthuik.
Pro: to James Threpland in Corswood.
Pro: Mr James Cheyne, wreater.
Pro: Mr Bankis at the Pepermylne.
Pas to John Arnot & John Christisone in Alloway.
Pro: to Sr John Murray of Philiphauche.
Pro: to John Scot of Gilmingeleuche.
Pro: to John Murray of Soniehoop.
Pro: to [blank] Lesly Lady Cluny.
Pro: to John Gyllan in Craiggour.
Pro: to [blank] Pittcairne of Forther, & William Pittcairne, his son.
Pro: to Mr John Tailzor in the Canogat
Pro: to John Prestoun in Craigmiller.
Pro: to Mr Alexander Kenneir of Forret.
Pro: to Mr John Kenneir.
Pro: to David McCullo of Gutteres.
Pro: to [blank] Aytoun of that Ilk.
Pro: to James Nisbitt in France Litle.

(Item, there is halff of syd rivene away from the principall book of the protectiounes, which hes beine filled with protectiounes, & whiche principall book is of this same volume.)

Rests be John Wilsone the supperplus of tuelff dolloris for Thomas Formanes 16 pro: & passis inde Westquarter for the Lady Roploche; Commissar of Glasgow 14 pro:; Johne Wilsonne, Mr Olipher Colt, minister.

(Thir last fyve Lynes wreatin on the tayle of the vther syd preceiding, ar wreatvpon the back of the principall book of the protectiounes.)

[*Note.*—For the reference to this Appendix occuring *supra*, p. 301, regarding the Queen's correspondence with Montrose, see Introduction to Part VI.]

PART VI.

This Part consists entirely of the correspondence which passed between Montrose and the members of the royal family who, like himself, were in exile. Their letters afford a befitting monument to his fame, and, at the same time, serve to redeem his memory from the reckless calumnies of some historians, and the careless detractions of others. The two whom we mean to bring to this trying test are Burnet and Clarendon.

I. In a passage so suspicious that the original editors of his posthumous work suppressed it altogether, Burnet has recorded, that Queen Henrietta Maria conceived a great aversion to Montrose, because the Marquis, after extorting money and jewels from her impoverished Exchequer, 'had talked very indecently of her favours to him.' The scandalous chronicler adds, that her Majesty, in consequence of this conduct, sent him her commands to quit Paris, intimating, at the same time, that she would never see him again. He concludes his strange story with the sneering assertion, that the object of her just indignation then betook himself 'to wandering about the Courts of Germany,' neglected and dejected. The sole authority afforded for an anecdote to be met with nowhere else, and which is contrary to all experiences of the lofty character thus scandalously treated, is *Burnet's own statement*, that Lady Susanna Hamilton (the daughter of one of Montrose's

greatest enemies) *told him*, that the Queen herself had *told her* the story he records.[1]

It fell within the plan and objects of Mr Macaulay's popular and amusing Essay upon the History of England, to compose a better character for Bishop Burnet than he ever received before, or probably ever will again. In the midst of that elaborate eulogy, this sentence occurs:—'Though often misled by prejudice and passion, he was *emphatically* an honest man.' Perhaps the lively writer who has portrayed Charles the First without a virtue, and Cromwell without a crime, may consider that the prejudice and passion, which is so apt to constitute a dishonest *historian*, may leave the honesty of *the man* in full possession of its emphasis. Another amusing sentence we must quote from those sparkling pages:—'The fame of Burnet has been attacked with *singular malice* and pertinacity. The attack began early in his life, and is still carried on with undiminished vigour, though he has now been more than a century and a quarter in his grave.'[2] The most severe attacks upon the fame of Burnet have arisen from a comparison of various malicious details, contained in the History of his Own Times, with authentic records, and with his own previous writings. He himself took care that those attacks at least should not begin *early in his life*, as he

[1] 'The Queen-mother hated him (Montrose) mortally; for when he came over from Scotland to Paris, upon the King's requiring him to lay down his arms, she received him with such extraordinary favour as his services seemed to deserve, and gave him a large supply in money and in jewels, considering the straits to which she was then reduced. But she heard that he had *talked very indecently of her favours to him*; which she herself told the Lady Susanna Hamilton, a daughter of Duke Hamilton, *from whom I had it*. So she sent him word to leave Paris, and she would see him no more. He *wandered about the Courts of Germany*, but was not esteemed so much as he thought he deserved.'—(Hist. of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 89, Edit. 1823.)

[2] Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii. pp. 175–181.

expressly designed his great repertory of libel to be *posthumous*.[1] But that work, vicious as it is, and will ever be considered, is a most amusing chronicle, and (where it can be trusted) replete with curious information. We agree with Mr Macaulay, that it must always hold a prominent place in letters,—'nor is any good private library without it.' But we doubt the logic of his triumphant conclusion :—'Against such a fact as this, all the efforts of *detractors* are vain.' The mud of Swift is as immortal as the malice of Burnet. The infidel Essays of Hume, the Pagan chapters of Gibbon, the indecencies of Shakespeare, the immoralities of Byron, the smut of Smollett, and Macaulay's characters of Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, Viscount Dundee, and Gilbert Burnet, will continue to be printed again and again, and must ever be found in 'good private Libraries.' But not all the Libraries in Christendom, nor a thousand years of the tomb, can or ought to afford a refuge for the fame of that historian, of whom it may be said that he was *emphatically* a calumnious chronicler. Therefore so has it fared with Burnet. We have already dealt with the Bishop's record of our hero as a fool, a braggard, and a coward.[2] We have now to dispose of this attempt to persuade the world that he was not a gentleman.

Is it true that Montrose was ordered to quit Paris by Queen Henrietta Maria, and retired accordingly in disgrace? The documents now brought together utterly destroy the calumny. Lord Napier,—of whom 'it was ever said that Montrose and his nephew were like the Pope and the Church, who would be inseparable,'—in that letter to his Lady, has very fortunately recorded a detailed account of his uncle's reception in Paris, and his reason for proceeding to Germany. Cardinal Mazarine, it seems, was most desir-

[1] See *supra*, p. 81.

[2] See Introduction to Part V.

ons to secure his services for France. Lord Napier says that he himself saw, in writing, the following conditions, proposed to this alleged mendicant Marquis:—'First, that he should be General to the Scots in France, and Lieutenant-General to the royal army when he joined with them, *commanding all Mareschals of the field:* As likewise, to be Captain of the gens-d'armes, with twelve thousand crowns a-year of pension, besides his pay; and *assurance* the next year to be Mareschal of France, and Captain of the King's own guard, which is a place bought and sold at a hundred and fifty thousand crowns: But these two last places were not inserted amongst his other conditions; only promised him by the Cardinal Mazarine: But the others were all articles of their capitulation *which I did see in writing;* and used all the inducements and persuasions I could, to make him embrace them,'—(*supra*, p. 306.) The accuracy of this precise account is not to be doubted. Is it within the bounds of possibility that the nobleman who *rejected* such brilliant offers, and preferred to sacrifice his life

> ——'For a King,
> Upon whose property, and most dear life,
> A damned defeat was made,'——

should be meanly subsisting upon money and jewels from that monarch's impoverished consort, and yet more meanly, 'talking very indecently of her favours?'[1] That he was disgusted with his cold reception at her

[1] We shall presently find that Clarendon tells a very different story as to the Queen's inclinations and capability of bestowing 'a large supply in money and in jewels' upon Montrose. Even were it possible that the high-minded Marquis would have sought or accepted such bounty, unless in *direct reference* to the service of the King, *Jermyn* and other creatures about her Majesty took care to absorb her slender and precarious treasury. Upon the 8th of May 1647, when Montrose was on his way to Paris, Secretary Nicholas thus writes to Clarendon:—'I hear that the Queen hath lately made a

Court, where the Queen's minion ruled supreme, and had expressed himself to that effect, can scarcely be doubted. But so far from boasting of her favours, he deeply felt that Henrietta Maria could bestow nothing upon him (and she did bestow nothing) which was not absolutely worthless, without that instant and cordial concurrence in his one only, and all-engrossing scheme, to save the life of her husband. A refuge, under Montrose's auspices at Paris, probably about the person of the Queen of England, had been suggested to him for his niece, Lilias Napier. This young lady was little more than twenty-two years of age, and had been treated in her own country like a common felon, because of her attachment to the cause of the King. Her uncle's reply must, we think, refer to the Court of the Queen of England, from the emphasis laid upon the disfavour shown in that quarter to all from Scotland. Nor is it probable that Sir George Stirling would have proposed any other foreign Court as a retreat for his sister-in-law. 'As for that (writes Montrose) which you spoke long ago, concerning Lilias, I have been thinking, but to no purpose; *for there is neither Scots man nor woman welcome that way:* neither would any of honour and virtue, chiefly a woman, suffer themselves to live in so lewd and worthless a place.'—(*supra*, p. 304.) This is severe, but it is the language of a high-minded man and a gentleman, as Montrose *emphatically* was.

When Burnet's design was to injure some character that could not be

marriage between two of her *French* servants; which, it is said, hath cost her two thousand pistoles. For she gave a bed, and furniture for a chamber, and six suits of cloaths to the bride, besides plate and other presents. I hear she hath received all or most of her money, but pays not her servants. Keep this to yourself.'—(Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii., p. 344.) That she had, under these circumstances, bestowed a *large supply of money and jewels* upon Montrose, who arrived about the time, is not to be believed. If she presented him with *a jewel*, it was to her credit and his honour.

fairly and honestly impugned, the language in which he clothes his scandal, and the authority he quotes, are usually both equivocal and vicious. He says, that Lady Susanna Hamilton *said,* that the Queen *had heard,* that Montrose 'had talked *very indecently* of her favours to him.' What does this mean? Did the Bishop intend it to be understood in the sense of *other favours* than the money and jewels of which he speaks? The truth we believe to be, that Burnet had no great faith in his own anecdote, but cared little how gross an interpretation might be put upon it. Not recording it in the spirit of truth, he had no motive for avoiding ambiguity of language. Accordingly, modern retailers of his gossip have adopted it in the worst sense. Mr Heneage Jesse, in his Memoirs of the Court of England (vol. ii., p. 225), refers to it as one of the most authentic grounds for doubting the fair fame of the Queen of Charles I. Without seeming to observe the improbability of her Majesty having become evidence against herself, to Lady Susanna Hamilton, this author, after alluding to the money and jewels, adds,— 'Montrose, says Burnet, afterwards repaid her kindness by boasting of *other* favours she had conferred upon him.' It is time, for her own sake, no less than that of the devoted champion of her husband, to call Henrietta Maria herself into Court.

Eight letters, from that unhappy Princess to Montrose, will be found among these Memorials in their chronological order. The first is dated 31st May 1643, and the last, 1st December 1649. These dates, it will be observed, include the period of his alleged disgrace and dismissal from Paris, in the spring of the year 1648. Four of the letters are prior to that event, and four *in the following year.* The first observation which occurs, on perusing them, is, that the whole are written precisely in the same strain. Each and all of them express the same queenly admiration

of Montrose's high-minded and heroic loyalty, in nearly the same form of words. There is but one theme between them, one common feeling, throughout the correspondence, and that is the fate of the Monarchy. The language of these letters alone suffices to prove, that between Henrietta Maria and Montrose no other feeling, and no familiarity, ever existed. But when we compare the four letters written in 1649, with Burnet's scandal of 1648, its utter falsity becomes absolutely demonstrated. Montrose returned from Germany to Brussels about the end of the year 1648. Although his letters have not been recovered, we have her Majesty's own authority for the fact, that he immediately recommenced his correspondence with her. This was no forward or importunate step on his part. It was in pursuance of the express commands of his sovereign. The King, in his letter of the 21st January 1647, says, 'All the directions I am able to give you is, to desire you to dispose of yourself as my wife shall advise you, knowing that she truly esteems your worth'—(*supra*, p. 309); and in that of the 19th June 1647, he also writes, 'Wherefore I desire you to take directions from my wife what ye are to do'—(*supra*, p. 303.) Accordingly, no sooner is Montrose returned from his 'wandering about the Courts of Germany,' which Burnet makes the consequence of his having grossly insulted that *wife* to whom his sovereign had so affectionately referred him, than we find him addressing her again, and her Majesty replying to him in the very same strain of compliment as before. In her letter, dated 22d July 1649, she acknowledges two from Montrose, expresses her great satisfaction at the continuance of his friendship, declaring her esteem for him to be such that, whatever fortune awaited her, it could suffer no diminution. This letter, alone, is conclusive against the calumny. A *fac simile* of it is given in this

Part, along with the series of letters written by the Queen to Montrose after his return from Germany, and which are all in the same strain.

Is it true, that Montrose 'wandered about the Courts of Germany, but was not esteemed so much as he thought he deserved?' The first advances were made from the Empire to him. While his nephew was urging him to embrace the brilliant offers of France, while his *eclat* and reputation were unrivalled in Paris,—'For believe it (writes Lord Napier), they had a *huge esteem of him;* some eminent persons there came to see him who refused to make the first visit to the Ambassadors Extraordinary of Denmark and Sweden, yet did not stand to salute him first with all the respect that could be imagined,'—Montrose was *invited* to Germany. 'But (continues his nephew) while I was thus in hope and daily expectation of his present agreement with them (the offers from Mazarine), *he did receive advertisements from Germany that he would be welcome to the Emperor.*' The young Lord, his nephew, at first lamented what seemed to him a rash desertion of the most brilliant prospects; but he ingenuously adds,—'I confess he convinced me so *with reason,* that I rested content, and was desirous he should execute his resolution with all imaginable speed.' That reason was, 'that if he did engage with France, he would be forced to *connive and wink at his Prince's ruin;* and for these reasons he would let the treaty desert, and go into Germany, where he would be honourably appointed.'

Accordingly Montrose, in the beginning of April 1648, quitted France, and travelled through Switzerland, Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria. Not finding the Emperor at Vienna, he followed him to Prague, where his Imperial Majesty received him most graciously, and immediately bestowed upon him the baton of a Field-Marshal of the Empire. But the Mar-

quis's principal object was a commission to raise some independent regiments, and to be employed in those quarters from whence he could most readily and effectually aid his own sovereign. The negotiation was successful. He was invested with the command, immediately under the Emperor himself, of levies to be raised on the borders of Flanders; and, at the same time, he obtained from him letters of recommendation to his brother Leopold, Archduke of Austria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands. Thus brilliantly accredited, he returned to Flanders by a very circuitous route, in order to avoid hostile armies. From Vienna he went by Presburg to Hungary, and so through Prussia to Dantzic, where he embarked for Denmark, and spent some time with his Danish Majesty. At that Court, and wherever he paused on his journey, he was received as a person of the highest distinction. From this he passed into Jutland, where he embarked for Groningen, in Friesland, and thereafter proceeded to Brussels. But the Archduke had retired to Tournay, after the defeat inflicted upon him at Lens by the Prince of Condé. Montrose remained with Leopold until the latter returned to Brussels, when he accompanied him thither, and so rejoined his nephew, Lord Napier, and other friends in that town. This was towards the end of the year 1648. Such is a rapid sketch of the true history of Montrose's wanderings through the Courts of Germany. No sooner was he settled, than he put himself in communication with Queen Henrietta Maria, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Queen of Bohemia, on the subject of his negotiation with Foreign States in aid of the King of England. Their letters, most flattering to the indefatigable hero, are all chronologically arranged in this Part; and there is a sentence in one from the Duke of York, dated Hague, 11th September 1648, with which we may conclude this

thorough extinction of the calumny begotten by Burnet upon Lady Susanna Hamilton. 'I am extremely glad,'—writes the son of that Queen whom Montrose is said to have grossly insulted the year before,—'to hear your merits are so well understood abroad as to have *procured you such honours from the Emperor*, now that there is not a possibility of rewarding them at home. Whenever there shall be, you must not doubt of receiving it from the King, nor of my particular endeavours to deserve of you those professions you make me. I rest your affectionate friend, YORKE.'

II. We must now turn to Clarendon, whose account of Montrose at this crisis is so faulty, so mistaken in point of fact, and so unjust in its spirit, as to read like a leaf out of Bishop Burnet's 'Own Times.'

'The Marquis of Montrose, who hath been mentioned before, had been obliged by the late King to lay down his arms; and after he had performed such wonderful actions in Scotland, and left that kingdom upon his Majesty's first coming into the Scottish army to Newcastle, had first arrived in France, and had not such a reception from the Queen of England, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable services he had performed for the King had merited. *The truth is*, he was somewhat elated with the great actions he had done; which, upon his first coming to Paris, *he caused* to be published in a full relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of Wales; in which, as his own person, courage, and conduct, was *well extolled*, so the reputation of *all the rest of that nation* (upon whose affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly *undervalued* and *suppressed; which obliged* the Queen and the Prince to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it.'[1]

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi., p. 284, Edit. 1826.

Clarendon does not mention in what manner Montrose,—whom he admits to have 'performed such wonderful actions in Scotland,'—had been 'obliged by the late King to lay down his arms.' He does not state the fact, of which we cannot believe him to have been altogether ignorant, that Montrose laid down his arms in Scotland, and proceeded to *receive his instructions* from the Queen in Paris, in consequence of the reiterated but flattering commands of his Sovereign. The world would never have gathered, from this page of Clarendon's History, that Montrose set out upon his hopeless mission accredited by a series of autograph letters from his Sovereign, referring him to the Queen, in terms of such high confidence, gratitude, and affection, as ought to have immediately placed him at the head of her counsels. Neither does Clarendon mention, and possibly he was not aware, that although Montrose was repelled and baffled by the unworthy and vicious counsels which her Majesty preferred, yet that unhappy Princess never ceased in her attempts to persuade him that she entirely participated in all her husband's feelings, and really desired Montrose's aid and advice in the affairs of the King. This, too, is amply proved by her own private letters, already commented upon in the examination of Burnet's calumny.

There is something little in the great historian's notice of Dr Wishart's justly celebrated performance. He makes no allusion to the author. If Montrose had 'caused' some mean scribbler to put forth a vapouring eulogy, with the unworthy object of unjustly exalting himself at the expense of others, Clarendon could not have alluded to it in more contemptuous terms. Was he jealous of the fame which it procured for a *Scottish* clergyman, the once obscure and persecuted minister of St Andrews? Had Montrose written it with his own pen, he might have

gloried in a comparison with the ancient whom he admired, and upon a copy of whose Commentaries he noted the couplet,—

> 'Though Cæsar's paragon I cannot be,
> Yet shall I soar in thoughts as high as he.'

That he had sanctioned the publication, and authenticated the principal details, is not to be doubted. When the exhausted malice of his murderers affixed the volume to his person on the scaffold, he hallowed it with his dying breath. He knew, and so did they, that Europe had read it to his glory, and Scotland's shame. The age had not produced its like for intense interest, magnanimous feeling, honest narrative, and classic elegance. Nor, as may be proved by other passages in his history, was Clarendon at all impressed with the idea, that the characters, either of sects or of individuals, had been treated by Dr Wishart otherwise than most deservedly. There is no authority for depriving him of the entire merit of the design, thus triumphantly to redeem his illustrious patron from gross calumny and jealous detraction. It was no weak offspring of the vanity of Montrose; but the honest fruits of the indignant genius of his chaplain, upon whose tomb the fact is recorded to his immortal honour.[1]

[1] Owing to that confusion in Clarendon's manuscripts, which has not been extricated even by the latest of his editors, some startling inconsistencies occur in his great work. It almost seems as if various versions of some events, the crude, the authentic, the corrected, and the superseded, had all been pitchforked together into the press. (See *supra*, p. 11.) A very few paragraphs after that in which occurs the contemptuous reference to the Latin history of Montrose's actions, the historian starts off in a new and totally different key, both as regards Montrose and that celebrated apology. Speaking of the virulent spirit of Hamilton and Lauderdale against the loyal Marquis (when they arrived at the Hague as commissioners to Charles II., and had the impudence to insist upon the expulsion, from his Majesty's presence and Court, of the noble-

Clarendon proceeds to say:—'Montrose was then a man of *eclat*, had many servants, and more officers, who had served under him and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen should enable him to maintain with some lustre, by a liberal assignation of monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in straits enough, and *never open-handed*, and used to pay the best services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her graces were still more towards those who were like to do services, than to those who had done them. So that, after a long attendance, and some overtures *made by him to Cardinal Mazarine*, to raise an army for the service of that King, which he did not think were received with that regard his great name deserved, the Marquis left France, and made a journey into Germany to the Emperor's court, *desiring to see armies till he could come to command them;* and was returned to Brussels about the time that the Prince came back into Holland with the fleet; and lay there very privately, as *incognito*, for some time, *till he heard of the murder of the late King*. Then he sent *to the King*, with the tender of his service, and to know, if his Majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring any prejudice to his Majesty; and if so, that he would send over the Chancellor of the

man who had proved himself most trustworthy, and the most devoted to the royal family), Clarendon adds:—'This proposition and demand they made confidently in writing under their hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a learned and worthy Scottish divine, Dr Wishart, who was then chaplain to a Scottish regiment in the service of the States, being appointed to preach before the King on the Sunday following, they formally besought the King, that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he stood excommunicated by the Kirk of Scotland for having refused to take the Covenant: though it was known that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that divine was, that they knew he was *the author of the excellent relation* of the Lord Montrose's actions in Scotland.' (Hist., vol. vi. p. 288, Edit. 1826.) It is difficult to reconcile the idea of an 'excellent relation,' with that suggested almost in the same page, namely, a vain-glorious *extolling* of self, 'exceedingly *undervaluing* and *suppressing* the reputation' of all others.

Exchequer to Sevenbergh, a town in Flanders, where he was at present to expect him, and had matters to communicate to him of much importance to his Majesty's service.[1] Whether he did this out of modesty, that he might first know his Majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity that was predominant in him, that he might seem to come to the King, after the coldness he had met at Paris, by a kind of treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor presently to go to him, and, if he could without exasperating him, which he had no mind to do, wished he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the Hague than presently to appear there: which was an injunction *very disagreeable to the Chancellor;*[2] who in his judgment believed his Majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him *before any other of that nation* in his esteem.'

This last sentence is not a little inconsistent with the spirit of the whole passage, and the essentially mean character insinuated of Montrose. There is indeed no hint that he had been expelled from Paris in disgrace. But the account of his proceedings is so contrary to the facts as to shake severely the credit of Clarendon. Was this great historian, too, one whom some petty pique, or envious feeling towards an illustrious compeer, could induce to write unfaithfully, even where strong natural prejudices or political enmity were not in the case? This passage has passed for history. But compare it with the contemporary and relative letters, now for the first time brought together. We now know, by Lord Napier's letter, that it was Mazarine who made the overtures to Mon-

[1] Clarendon's narrative is here singularly at variance with the fact. Montrose sent no message of the kind either to *the King*, or to the *Prince of Wales*. The proposition to meet at Sevenbergh, occurs in his letter to *the Chancellor*, in consequence of the Prince (not the King) himself having commanded Montrose to appoint a place of meeting; and after the Chancellor had started some difficulties. See the letters printed in this Part.

[2] *Credat Judæus!*

trose; and further, that, so far from Mazarine's rejection of Montrose's services being the cause of the latter going into Germany, the case was, that Montrose, for the sake of his own sovereign, rejected the temptations of the Cardinal, and for the same reason proceeded to Germany,—not 'to see armies till he could come to command them,'—but upon the invitation of the Emperor himself. Why did Clarendon not mention that Montrose returned from Germany with a baton of the Empire, and invested with an important military command? Then, strange to say, the Chancellor's account of the Marquis's first communication with Charles II., and of his own negotiation of their correspondence, is directly contradicted by the letters themselves, some of them found in Clarendon's own collections! It is not true that Montrose remained *incognito* till he heard of the murder of the King, and then addressed himself to his successor. In the month of January 1649 the Prince of Wales was at the Hague, attended by Sir Edward Hyde. Montrose having returned to Brussels, had reported himself to *the Prince*, through the medium of some young courtier, who exceeded the simple commission with which he was charged. This we learn from the Marquis's own letter, dated at Brussels 28th January 1649, in which he says,—'For what *your Highness* is pleased to mention touching that young man's expression to you, *I gave him no warrant* to trouble your Highness with such like; but he was prompted by *the impatience of others.*' Charles I. was yet alive. Montrose's correspondence was with the *Prince of Wales*, and not with Charles II. This is proved by the Prince's letter to the Marquis (which will be found in this Part), and by the reply it called forth, now printed along with it. Montrose's noble and characteristic letter to the Prince has been preserved among Clarendon's State Papers! There can be no doubt that this is the very correspondence to which the historian alludes. For Prince Charles

writes,—'I have appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to meet you in any place you shall appoint;' and Montrose replies,—'I have, *according to your Highness's command*, appointed with your Chancellor of Exchequer where to meet.' Was Clarendon in his cups when he recorded, in the face of Montrose's letter to the Prince, and his own correspondence with the Marquis (all derived from the collection intended to vouch his history), that the correspondence in question arose out of an unwelcome and importunate offer of service to *the new King*, which his Chancellor was commissioned to avert? When the correspondence itself is perused, what becomes of this sentence in Clarendon:—'Whether Montrose did this out of *modesty*, and that he might first know *his Majesty's* pleasure, or out of *some vanity that was predominant in him*, that he might seem to come *to the King*, after the coldness he had met at Paris, by a kind of treaty, *the King* commanded the Chancellor to go to him?' Clarendon, while he wrote, was actually in possession of Montrose's reply, not to the King, but to *the Prince of Wales*, in which he pointedly protects himself against the possible though surely very harmless imputation of a too importunate loyalty. Knowing that the King's life was in the most imminent danger, having his Majesty's own assurance in private letters that he wished and intended him to be his principal negotiator abroad, being expressly referred by his sovereign to the Queen for instructions, and having just returned from his anxious and successful negotiations with Austria and Denmark, surely the hero who, single-handed as regards any co-operation of the nobles professing loyalty, had swept the armies of the Covenant from the face of Scotland, was not only entitled, but necessarily impelled to report himself, his proceedings, and his plans, to the exiled family of Charles I. When these circumstances are considered, and when we peruse the letters, now collected, which the hero received at this time from the various members

of that unhappy family, how little and how ridiculous appears the blundered narrative of Clarendon, with his depreciatory see-saw between the *modesty* and the *vanity* of Montrose. And why, with the letter before him, did the historical statesman not give his heroic coadjutor the benefit of that pointed remark which proves that he was at this time urged upon his fate by the latent *impatience of others?*

The dates of this correspondence, it will be observed, are a few days prior to the 30th of January 1649, when the murder of Charles I. was perpetrated in England. Before the meeting could take place between Montrose and the Chancellor, the former was suddenly informed, while on the move to the Hague, of the fate of his Sovereign. The shock imparted to his high-strung heart had nearly killed him. But here we must resume the faulty narrative of Clarendon.

'The sudden violent frost, which shut up all the rivers in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at this time from meeting; but, within a short time after, and upon another message from him, they met at a village three or four miles off the Hague, whether the Marquis had transported himself. The Chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left Oxford, when he seemed to have *very much modesty,* and *deference to the opinions and judgment of other men.* But he had, since that time, done so many signal actions, won so many battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the world, that there appeared no less alteration to be in his humour and discourse, than there had been in his fortune. He seemed rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know *what advice to give the King,* and how to make *a party that would be fast to him,* than out of any doubt that his presence *would not be acceptable* to his Majesty. There was yet no news from Scotland since the murder of the King, and he seemed to think of nothing but that the King would presently send him thither with some forces, to pre-

pare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that night together in conference, and the next morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, *which did not abound with all things desirable*, or somewhere else, until he might give him notice what the King's sense should be of the matters discoursed between them: insisting principally, that, if his going into Scotland should be thought presently to be necessary, it would then be as necessary that he should not be taken notice of publicly to have been with the King. With which reason he seemed satisfied, and promised not to come to the Hague till he should first receive advice from the Chancellor. But when he heard of the Comissioners being come from Scotland, and of the other Lords' arrival there, he would no longer defer his journey thither, but came to the Hague, well attended by servants and officers, and presented himself to the King; *who received him with a very good countenance.*'[1]

Was it the King, or Clarendon, who felt so much averse to the presence of Montrose? It seems, after all, that the King 'received him with a very good countenance.' The Marquis himself, as the letters in this Part prove, was anxious not to appear as the confidential adviser of the King, owing to the virulent feeling entertained against him by that presbyterian party who now professed to be able to restore Charles II. Montrose knew well that the King was relying upon the worst enemies of the monarchy, and upon *the very individuals* who had betrayed his father under trust, and had been most instrumental in his murder. He had no desire, however, to deprive the young King of any chance of restoration, or to turn the counsels, upon which he seemed inclined to

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. pp. 284-287, Edit. 1826. There is another mistake in point of fact in this passage. Montrose had established himself at the Hague some time *before* the Commissioners from Scotland arrived there.

rely, into a ruinous party wrangle. But had he suffered himself to doubt, as Clarendon seems to think he *ought* to have done, 'that his presence would be acceptable to his Majesty,' had he skulked in secret while Lauderdale and his coadjutors were pouring vicious and insulting counsels, false hopes and promises, and insolent calumnies into the abused ear of royalty, Montrose would have been wanting to his Sovereign, to himself, and to the best interests of his country.[1] There is something extremely absurd in Clarendon's attempt to insinuate an impression unfavourable to Montrose, by contrasting what he terms his modest and deferential demeanour at Oxford in 1643, when with *the King*, and his more confident address to *Sir Edward Hyde* in 1649. Had Montrose by this time not served an apprenticeship which fully qualified and entitled him to offer his honest and energetic advice for the restoration of the Monarchy? If he desired that interview, not because he doubted the disposition of the young King towards himself (the most flattering proofs of which he must upon that very occasion have produced to the Chancellor), but 'that he might the better know what advice to give

[1] Here is Clarendon's own account, in a letter to Lord Hatton, dated 12th April 1649, of the individuals against whom Montrose now so properly placed himself face to face:—

'I believe it would puzzle your excellent constitution quietly to hear, without reply, that the Covenant ought immediately to be taken by the King, and himself without delay or condition to cast himself into the arms of the Kirk and Parliament of Scotland; to hear those men, *who have been the contrivers and authors of all our miseries*, justify all they have done, and at the same time mention that they are not thought the best counsellors to advise his Majesty what he is to do, and accuse all men of faction and want of moderation, who presume to differ from them in opinion. Here are now Commissioners from Scotland, who, as if they had rescued his Majesty from destruction, *not sold his father to those who murdered him*, press him wholly to be advised by them; and, at the same time they have cut off the Marquis of Huntly's head, *insolently require the King to abandon* my Lord Montrose, because he is excommunicated in Scotland, which, they say, *Jesus Christ requires at his hands*.' (Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 479.)

the King, and how to make a party that would be fast to him,' was this motive, at such a crisis, reprehensible, or deserving an odious comparison? Montrose, the unrivalled hero of the civil war in Scotland (for in no fair fight was he not victorious), had just returned from familiar converse with the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Denmark. He had received the most friendly and flattering letters from Charles I., Queen Henrietta Maria, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Queen of Bohemia, and Prince Rupert. Was he to hang back in his advice, and assume the deportment of a novice, in a conference with Sir Edward Hyde?

It is sad to find, in regard to any circumstances however unimportant to the great features of history, that Clarendon must come under the same category as Burnet. But the letters which compose this Part prove to demonstration, that their respective records of Montrose's conduct and reputation, at the crisis in question, are without truth in the details or justice in the spirit. Both, it would seem, were actuated by unworthy motives. Burnet was retained by the females of the House of Hamilton, to whitewash the Ducal brothers; a task which he performed with more zeal than honesty. The counterpart of his engagement was to blacken Montrose. The whole details of his conversation with Lady Susanna Hamilton would have been not a little instructive upon this subject. If our readers revert to the terms of his abject pleading to Lord Halifax, printed in these Memorials (*supra*, p. 79), they will find that this chronicler, whom Mr Macaulay pronounces *emphatically* an honest man, scrupled not, for the nonce, solemnly to promise some flattering record of personal character, which promise, mean in itself, neither did he scruple calumniously to break. We recommend to the attention of the brilliant eulogist of Burnet this sentence:—'One thing you may as you think fit tell the King, that though

I am too inconsiderable to think I can ever serve him while I am alive, yet I hope I shall be able to do it *to some purpose after I am dead:* this *you understand;* and I will do it *with zeal:* so, my dear friend, pity your poor melancholy friend,'—(*supra*, p. 81.) After this can we doubt, that, in his conversation with the daughter of the unhappy Duke whom Montrose unmasked, the then courtly and comfortable Bishop would as usual refer to his means of revenge *in petto*, while her Ladyship pickled the rod?[1]

Nor, we grieve to say, was Clarendon's faulty record without a motive. He himself tells us, that at the gloomy crisis when the Crown descended to Charles II., and the young King was all but destitute of able, loyal, and honest advisers, he, his Chancellor, became 'weary of the company he was in, and the business.' Hence, he confesses, Lord Cottington's quiet intrigue, to effect their joint embassy to Spain, was eagerly embraced by him. At the very time of his conferences with the self-devoted Montrose, who had hoped to find in the Chancellor a constant and untiring coadjutor, Clarendon was secretly caballing with Cottington to escape from the troubled stage. And he is not ashamed to record, that 'he was very scrupulous that the King might not suspect that he was *weary of his attendance*, or that *any body else* might believe that he withdrew himself from waiting longer upon so desperate a fortune.' When this plot was ripe for announcement, all murmured. 'Only,' adds the confessing historian, '*the Scots* were very glad of it,—*Montrose excepted*,—believing that when the Chancellor was gone, their beloved Covenant would not be so irreverently mentioned, and that the King would be wrought upon to withdraw all countenance and favour

[1] Lady Susanna Hamilton was the youngest daughter of the first Duke, and married to the Earl of Cassillis, a covenanting Presbyterian.

from the Marquis of Montrose: and the Marquis himself looked upon it as *a deserting him*, and complying with the other party: and from that time, though they lived with civility towards each other, he withdrew *very much of his confidence* which he had formerly reposed in him.'[1] But while the Chancellor thus sought safety in a luxurious flight, the days of the unflinching loyalist, of the 'clear spirit,'—of 'the man of the clearest honour, courage, and affection to the King's service,'—were numbered. About twelve months after this separation, we find Clarendon writing to Henrietta Maria, *from Madrid*:—'How his Majesty intends to dispose of his own person we know not; and if he be inclined for Scotland, we presume this *monstrous proceeding* with the brave Marquis of Montrose,—who, without doubt, was a person of *as great honour*, and as *exemplary integrity and loyalty*, as ever that nation bred,—will make his Majesty as jealous for his own security as the weight of such an argument requires him to be.'[2]

[1] History of the Rebellion, vol. vi., p. 113; one of the *suppressed* passages.

[2] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii., p. 544. The Chancellor, in reality, entertained the highest admiration for Montrose. The derogatory and inaccurate account of him above commented upon, is immediately followed by a paragraph in a very different tone, and which reads somewhat incoherently with what precedes it. Speaking of the conflicting parties at the Hague, he places Montrose at the head of the most honest: 'There was also the Marquis of Montrose, with more of the nobility, as the Earls of Seaforth and Kinnoul, and others who adhered to Montrose, and believed *his clear spirit* to be most like to advance the King's service.' Clarendon corresponded from the Hague with Sir Edward Nicholas. In 'Advertisements,' or news transmitted by the latter to the Marquis of Ormond in Ireland, occurs the following, which had been addressed (doubtless by Clarendon) to Sir Edward from the Hague, 16th March 1649:—'It is *the opinion and wishes of all men*, that his Majesty would employ Montrose, as the man of the *clearest honour*, courage, and affection to his service.' Clarendon set out from the Hague in the month of May 1649.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MONTROSE AND THE EXILED MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, ILLUSTRATING HIS EXERTIONS TO RESTORE THE MONARCHY.

M.DC.XLVIII.—M.DC.L.

I. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 7th September 1648.

Sir,—Your Highnes may justly think strange what should imbolden me to this freidome, never heaving done myself the honor to heave used the lyke heirtofore, nor being favoured with your commands now to doe it. But when your Highnes shall be pleased to know that I was ever a silent admirer of you, and a passionatt affecter of your person, and all your ways,[1] you will be pleased to allowe me recours to your goodness and generosity: and the rather that your Highness sees I am for the present at sueh distance with all interests, as no end but naked respect can now prompt me to it: which if your Highnes shall doe me the honor

[1] But this was not their first communication. They met immediately after the battle of Marston Moor. See *supra*, p. 145; and Preface to this Volume.

to take in good pairt, and command me to continue, I shall hope it will not wrong the King your uncle's service, nor what may touch your Highnes both in relation to thos and thir pairts, in eather whereof I should presume to be able to doe you some small services. So, hopeing your Highnes will pardone this boldnes and take it from the true fountaine, I shall only say that I desire to be ever, Sir,

Your Highneses most humble, faithfule,
affectionatt servand,

MONTROSE.

Bruxelles, 7 September 1648.
For his Highnes Prince Rupert.[1]

II. PRINCE RUPERT TO MONTROSE, 20th September 1648.

MY LORD,—In your letter I found a civility I was so glad of, that I will, by the best service my power can, gaine the continuance of it. I beseech you, my Lord, lett me hold it from your favor only till I shall be able to lett your Lordship see I have sought an occasion to serve you. The noble kindness I see your Lordship still preserves for the King, maks me much to covet that we may bee happy to serve him together. To compasse which, with regard to your person and affection, I shall study: and remaine your Lordships most faithful freind to serve you.

RUPERT.

Hage, 20 September [1648.]
For the Earle of Montrose, These.[1]

[1] Original, Mr Bentley's Collections. See Preface to this Volume.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest. There can be no doubt that this is the answer to Montrose's letter, immediately preceding. The Prince had forgotten the Marquisate, in addressing this letter.

III. The Duke of York to Montrose, 11th September 1648.

My Lord Marquis of Montrose,—I should have written to you by the same person who brought me your letter, if I had seen him afterwards, and given you many thanks, as I do now by Sir William Drummond, for the kind offer you made me of your friendship and service, which I assure you I value very much. I am extremely glad to hear your merits are so well understood abroad, as to have procured you such honours from the Emperor, now that there is not a possibility of rewarding them at home. Whenever there shall be, you must not doubt of receiving it from the King; nor of my particular endeavours to deserve of you those professions you make me. I rest your affectionate friend,

Hague, September 11, 1648.[1] Yorke.

IV. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 7th October 1648.

Sir,—Your Highneses nobell and generous expressions does not only give me ane subject, most humbly to acknowledge such gallant civilities, but also imbolden me (grounded upon your Highneses allowance) to presume to interteine myself with the honor and happynes of so much wished favour; humbly intreating your Highnes to doe me the justice to believe, that, as it was still my secret and most predominant passion to witness myself the faithfulest of all your servands, eather in order to his Majesties affairs (in which I may appear so very littell usefull), or that of your Highneses own particular, so shall it be still my greatest ambition, without affectation at all, for your Highneses worth and merit, and the strong inclinations I herbour to serve it, to avow myself ever, gainst all oppositions, Sir, your Highneses most humble, faithfull, affectionatt servand, Montrose.

Bruxelles, 7 October 1648. For his Highnes Prince Rupert.[2]

[1] Printed in Berkeley's Literary Relics, 1789. See Preface to this Volume.

[2] Original, Mr Bentley's Collections. See Preface to this Volume.

V. Prince Rupert to Montrose, 13th October 1648.

My Lord,—I have receaved a second testimonie of your kindnesse to me, which I shall againe assure you is most welcome to me; and though your Lordship as yett has noe commands for me, yett whenever you have an occasion fitt to be served in, I shall appeare very reall.

Your Lordships most faithfull freind to serve you,

Rupert.

Hage, 13th of October [1648.]

For my Lord Marquis of Montrosse.[1]

VI. Prince Rupert to Montrose, 17th November 1648.

My Lord,—I am sorry that this imployment will not give me leave to stirr from it, else I should have ben extreame willing to have mett with your Lordship some where, and conferred with you about his Majesties affaiers. The bearer hereof can more fully tell your Lordship how reddy I shall be to joine with you in any thing which may advance that service in which you shewed soe much reallity and forwardnesse. I shall therfore only troble you with an assurance of my service to you, which shall not be wanting in your Lordship's most faithfull freind to serve you,

Rupert.

From abord the Admirall, 17th of November 1648.[2]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. These letters, between '*Robert le Diable*,' and 'that bloody murderer James Graham,' evince more politeness than such *sobriquets* would imply.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest. The employment to which Prince Rupert refers is his management of the Fleet. See Mr Warburton's 'Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers.'

My Lord

I have received a second testimony
of your Kindness to me & I shall
againe assure you is most welcome
to me and though I see Lord as yett
has not Comands for me yett When
ever you have an occasion
to be served in I shall appeare
very redd

Your Lo[rdship]

Most Humbl[e] Servt
to serve you

Hage 13 of 8ber

VII. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 3d December 1648.

Sir,—I had the honour to receave your Highneses by Sir John Urrey,[1] and was informed by him, lykways, of all your Highnes committed to him to deliver; to which I could not heave failed to heave made an instant returne, but that I was still upon my dispatch, with these slow gamesters here, to heave wait upon your Highnes myself; which fynding draw to a little more length than I could heave imagined, I am constrained humbly to crave your Highneses pardon to be resolved of your commands in this way. I must confes, as your Highnes has perhaps heard, that it is my resolution to returne for the Imperiall Court (tho I never intended it without being resolved first to receave your commands, as the person's in the world shall have greatest influence upon all my services), in regard there is nothing of honor amongst the stuff here, and that I am not found usefull for his Majesties service in the way of home. Alwayes, if your Highnes shall wish me to ingage, or fynd a fair way for it, or be to lay your rest at any stake, I intreat your Highnes to beleave that I have still so much invincible loyalty to his Majestie, and passionatt respect to your own person, that I will abandon all fortunes and advantages in the world, and rather hazard to sink by you nor save myself asyde of all others. Wherefore let your Highnes be pleased I may receave your commands freely by your return,[2] and I will study to forgoe all, and dispose upon myself in every thing accordingly. I heave made bold to doe it in this way, becaus I wish not, if your Highness be pleased to think it fit, that any should know what passes untill I have first the honor to wait on yourself, which shall undoubtedly be instantly after the return: at which tyme I hope to let your Highnes see all is not yet gone, but that we may heave a handsome pull

[1] The well-known Sir John Hurry, who distinguished himself on both sides alternately. He sustained a great defeat from Montrose at Aulderne, and was ever after attached to him like a dog, and suffered on the same scaffold.

[2] That is to say, the return of the messenger.

for it, and a probable one, and eather win it or be sure to lose it fairly. The pressingnes of tyme makes me use this freedom, to which I shall add nothing but a begging of your Highneses pardone, with a solemne vow that I am, Sir, your Highneses most humble, faithfull, affectionatt servand,

MONTROSE.

Bruxelles, 3d December 1648.[1]
For his Highnes Prince Rupert.

VIII. PRINCE RUPERT TO MONTROSE, 6th December 1648.

MY LORD,—I have receaved yours of the 3d of December by this same bearer. Truly, Sir, I shall be glad to undertake any service with you which you shall be pleased to propose. For which reason, and having both the same ends, the Kings serviee, I must wish infinetly to see and conferr with your Lordship about it. If I had not this heavie tye upon me, your Lordship should not be trubled further then with safty I could come to you. But now, whilst I am severing the goates from the sheepe, I dare not absent myself without hazarding all our hopes here. Therefore I hope you will pardon the truble which you will receave. I am your Lordships most faithful friend and servant,

RUPERT.

Sonday night the 6th of December [1648.]
For the Lord Marquis of Montrosse.[2]

[1] Original, Mr Bentley's Collections. This letter contains the sentiment of the ballad.

He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
To win or lose it all.'

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest. Rupert was at this time re-organising his mutinous fleet, which he did with greater judgment and success than he fought the battle of Marston Moor.

IX. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 14th December 1648.

Sir,—According to your commands by your Highneses return, I was immediately to heave found the way to heave wait on you, but did receave a letter, just at the same time, from one Mr Mowbray, who pretends to have orders for me from his Majestie, and to be on the way (togither with some others) with them. Wherefore, supposing it might be very fit for your ends that I should smell them out ere I did attend you, and withal that they should heave no pretext to work upon, as I know they would be very apt unto, I heave been bold to hazard some very few days upon your Highneses patience, of which I thought fit to give you notice, that you should not conceave me slackened of the invincible desire I heave vowed ever to reteine to serve you: and tho it will but oblige a four or five dayes delay, I hope it may advance much more in other kynds. Meanwhyle I shall make bold to trouble your Highnes no further, but only crave your favour to tell you this treuth, that I am as much as any person alive, Sir, your Highneses most passionatt servand,

Montrose.

Bruxelles 14 December 1648.[1]
For his Highnes Prince Rupert.

[1] Original, Mr Bentley's Collections. See Preface to this Volume.

[2] 5 December 1648. Mr Mowbray came to visit me in the morning; and, after some salutations, told me that he came lately out of Scotland, where he had been during these late troubles; and that he had brought advices to the Prince from the Earl of Lanerick, who continued his devotion to his Highness, and had never submitted to the agreement made at Stirling, but kept in the North, where he would be ready to serve the Prince any way he proposed: and to that purpose had expressed a willingness to *join with my lord Marquis of Montrose*, and all the King's party; and that he would be so far from contesting about command, that he would be *a sergeant under Montrose.*' (Minute in the handwriting of Chancellor Hyde, State Papers, II. 460.)

This is good from Lanerick; who added, however, that he wished it to be concealed from *Lauderdale*. The next letter, from the same Collections, refers to the same subject, but has no date.

X. Montrose to Prince Rupert, [December 1648.]

Sir,—If those people who pretend his Majesties order for me, and are to be directed hither, as they profess, by the Prince, be pairted when this comes to your Highneses hands, I shall not fail to attend you with all possible speed: otherwase, if they be not, your Highnes wold be pleased, in an indirect way, to dispose it so as they may immediatly be sent alongs. For it will concerne much, that we know how their designs are composed, and upon what string they touch; that, when I heave the honor to wait on your Highnes, we may with the more clearness cast our moulds, and know how to keep the better consort with their tune: so that it will be much tyme gained, altho it may seem to retard it; since notwithstanding I were with your Highnes now, before you could resolve anything it were necessary to find out their myne, that you might the better know how to labour yours: and, untill then, the less they know of my faithful respects to your Highnes, or intentions towards his Majesties service, it will be much the better; for the more necessity they stande [in] of men, and the less certainty to heave them, will still affoord us the more freedom, and greater square to worke. As for the present difficulties of your Highneses shipping, you need not doubt it; for there will be many wayes found for their intertainment, that they may be still kept in call; and since there be so handsome and probable grounds for a clear and gallant designe, if the measures be rightly taken, I should be infinitly sory that your Highnes should be induced to hazard your owne person, or those little rests, upon any desperatt thrust. For, while you are safe, we shall fynd twenty ways to state ourselves, and give them the half of the fear. But if anything else did behappen, I should esteem myself the most unfortunatt person in the world, both for his Majesties interest and your own person. Alwayes I will submit myself to your Highneses better judgment, and intreat you apardone this freedom, which only proceeds from the inteire and perfyt respect of, Sir,

Your faithfulest and affectionatt servand,

For your Highnes. Montrose.

XI. Prince Rupert to Montrose.

My Lord,—I shall, with alle the care I can, contribute to that means which may with most convenience bring me the good fortune of conferring with your Lordship; retaining a very greate esteeme of the favour your Lordship hath expressed to me; and shall not, by any want of care, faile to prevent any ill use that may be made of the knowledge of it, by such as are reddy for such offices; and I doubt, as your Lordship doth, there are some such to be taken heed of. I pray my Lord be confident I will be very earnest in laboring to deserve your favour, which I much desire may be continued, as I doe to shorten the time of meeting you. I am your Lordships most faithfull freind and servant,

Wensday Night.[1] Rupert.

XII. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 8th January 1649.

Sir,—Being informed, since your Highneses parting, that some *new impostures* are like to delude our sense, and give a totall foyle to all hopes of recovery, I thought fit to direct bake this bearer to receave your Highneses commands, and to impairt unto you what is not so fit to be hazarded to paper, since this appeares *the strok for the party*, and probable conjuncture [whose?] use or misserving shall either gaine or lose the wholl. But be as it will, all shall serve to confirm me still the further, Sir, your Highneses most loving servand,

January 8, 1649.[2] Montrose.

For his Highnes Prince Rupert.

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. The context, regarding the caution suggested by Montrose in their correspondence, proves this letter (which is not dated) to be the rejoinder to Number X. Rupert was at this time re-organising his mutinous fleet.

[2] Original, Mr Bentley's Collections. See note to the next Number.

XIII. The Prince of Wales to Montrose, 20th January 1649.

My Lord,—I thank you for the continuance of your affection, of which I have received a good account by this bearer. It would be long to reply in writing to all particulars mentioned by him; therefore I have appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to meet you in any place you shall appoint, and by him you shall understand my mind upon the whole. I need not tell you there must be great secrecy in this business. Be assured I am, and will always be, my Lord, your most affectionate friend,

Charles P.

Hagh, January 20, [1649.]

[1] Printed in Berkeley's Literary Relics, 1792; but without connexion, or historical illustration. The signature is there printed 'Charles R.'; undoubtedly a mistake. See Preface to this Volume.

There is a letter entitled 'The Earl of Brentford to the Marquis of Montrose,' and described as 'A rough draft by Sir Edward Hyde,' which conveys a declinature, in the name of the Prince of Wales, of Montrose's services, as being for the time not advantageous to the King's affairs, written in a formal and disheartening style. See Clarendon State Papers, vol. II. p. 466. That letter bears date 18th January 1648. But it is manifest that it had never been sent; being quite inconsistent with the terms of the Prince's own letter, dated only two days later. Nor had that gallant old soldier Brentford, who so greatly admired Montrose, conceived the former. It was a *rough draft by Clarendon*, which had missed fire. We have already exposed his inaccurate account of Montrose's first correspondence with the Prince of Wales, which he dates after the death of Charles I. Lauderdale had paid a flying visit to the Hague, and was returned in haste to Scotland, by way of fulfilling his boast that he would restore the King through the Hamilton interest. This was the 'new impostures,' to which Montrose alludes in Number XII. He had just effected his personal interview with Rupert, who was now on the move to Ireland with his fleet. Intent upon the vicious tactics of Lauderdale, and what he considered a crisis, or *coup de la partie*, Montrose now addressed himself to the Prince of Wales.

XIV. Montrose to the Prince of Wales, 20th January 1649.

May it please your Highness,—I received your Highness's, wherewith you were pleased to honour me. As for my humble and loyal affection to your Highness's service, I hope there can be no fate, nor fatal misinformations, can ever put it to a peradventure in your Highness's thoughts; otherwise I should think what I have done and suffered, and am yet able to act for your Highness's service, had rencontred a very hard fate. For what your Highness is pleased to mention touching that young man's expression to you, I gave him no warrant to trouble your Highness with such like; but he was prompted by the impatience of others. Yet there can be nothing said but I am most ready to own it, wherein the least point of your Highness's service can be concerned; and have, according to your Highness's command, appointed with your Chancellor of Exchequer where to meet. Till when, I shall only beg your Highness to believe that, as I never had passion upon earth so strong as that to do the King your father service, so shall it be my study, if your Highness command me, to show it redoubled for the recovery of you; and that I shall never have friend, end, nor enemy, but as your pleasure, and the advancement of your service shall require. Wherein, if your Highness shall but vouchsafe a little faith unto your loyal servants, and stand at guard with others, your affairs can soon be whole. So, humbly expecting your Highness's further commands, with all the secrecy your Highness imposes, I am, Sir, your Highness's most humble, faithful, constant, zealous servant,

Montrose.

Brussels, 28th January 1649.[1]

[1] Original, Clarendon State Papers, Vol. II. p. 470.

There can be no doubt that this letter is the reply to that found in Berkeley's Literary Relics. They are now brought together for the first time, along with the relative correspondence with Clarendon. The very extraordinary contradiction afforded by these

XV. The Chancellor Hyde to Montrose, 20th January 1649.

My Lord,—The Prince hath vouchsafed to trust me with some overtures he hath lately received from your Lordship, and hath given me a private command to wait on your Lordship, in any place and at any time you please to appoint. If I were enough known to your Lordship, you would believe me to be very glad of this employment, and to have the opportunity of kissing the hands of a person that hath acted so glorious a part in the world. I shall very greedily wait your summons, and attend you accordingly. Only, give me leave to inform your Lordship, being a stranger to the present transactions and designs, that there is now so great jealousy of a treaty betwixt his Highness and your Lordship, and your countrymen are so scattered over all the neighbouring towns, that it will not be possible for you to be in these parts without discovery; and in this conjuncture the highest secrecy is absolutely necessary. And if I, who have the honour not to be gracious with your enemies, should be seen at Antwerp or Brussels, inquisitive men, by long suspecting, will conclude somewhat at this time should not be believed. Therefore I humbly refer it to your Lordship, whether you will not believe Breda, Bergen-op-zome, or Gythrenberg, a fit place to be attended.

Your Lordship has the full disposal of, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

E. H.

Hague 20 January [1649.][1]

letters, to Clarendon's narrative of the affair, in his History, has been fully exposed in the Introduction to this Part.

[1] Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii., p. 467. The letter is stated to be from 'A copy by Mr Edgeman, endorsed by himself.' It was very hard upon the high-minded Montrose, whom Clarendon records as the man of the *clearest spirit and honour* (see Introduction to this Part, p. 354) among all the King's advisers, to be thus brought down to the level of the mean and miserable double

XVI. Montrose to the Chancellor Hyde, 28th January 1649.

My Lord,—According to his Highness's commands, and the desire of yours, I have been minding the most convenient place to wait upon you. Since you find difficulties in their lengths, and all being considered, I suppose that Sevenbergen will be by much of best convenicncy for you, and greatest privacy to the business; although it carries me the furthest length. For Bergen, Gertruydenberg, Breda, and all those places, are so full of [my] Countrymen, as we cannot be anywhere undiscovered. Wherefore you will be pleased expect me at Sevenbergen, ere you shall be the length. Till when, I trouble [you] with no further, but only express the satisfaction I have that his Highness has pitched so well as on yourself; of whose deservings and approved loyalty I have often had so much character as I cannot but be encouraged to hope for the better effects, and profess how really I am, my Lord, your most affectionate friend and servant,

Montrose.

Brussels, 28 January 1649.[1]

policy which so utterly failed, as it deserved to do. Clarendon himself was aware of this fatal vice in the counsels of the young King. In a letter to Lord Jermyn, dated 31st March 1649, he writes:—'I am very far from having any prejudice to the nation (Scotland.) It is evident the poison and rancour there lies within a little compass, and is contracted within the breast of few men, who, no doubt, were as consenting to the parricide as Cromwell or Ireton. If a *full and clear encouragement* were given to all *the loyal party* there, instead of *application to the other*, I am persuaded Scotland would in a short time be in a good posture of obedience.' (State Papers, ii. 474.) This view is directly opposed to the policy of that letter which Clarendon had drafted in the name of Lord Brentford to Montrose. See *supra*, p. 364, *note*.

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Vol. II. p. 649. See Introduction to this Part.

XVII. Montrose on the Murder of King Charles I., 1649.

Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate
My griefs and thy too rigide fate,
I'd weep the world to such a straine
As it should once delnge again.
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus hands than Argos eyes,
I'll sing thine Obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine Epitaphs in blood and wounds.[1]

[1] After collating various manuscripts of Bishop Guthry's history, which slightly vary, I have adopted for the text one preserved in the Advocates' Library. It concludes with this sentence, followed by the verses as given above :—

'So ended the best of Princes, being cut off in the midst of his dayes, by the barbarous hands of unnatural subjects. Many sad epitaphs were made. But that of the most valiant and heroick Montrose, was esteemed so like the author, that I shall only insert it here.'

Upon the 30th of January 1649 the King was murdered. The intelligence appears to have been conveyed to Montrose by letter from the Chancellor at the Hague, to which place the former was on his way, if not arrived. See next Number. Dr Wishart informs us that he was with the Marquis at the time, and describes the scene. The loyal nobleman became so passionately excited that he fell into a fit, in the midst of his attendants, and his limbs became rigid as if in death. When brought to himself he vehemently desired to die. His chaplain roused him with the prospect of an avenging war. Montrose caught at the suggestion, uttered a vow to that effect, and then shut himself up in a secluded chamber for two days. Upon the third day, Dr Wishart was admitted, when he found the vow versified, and committed to writing on a small piece of paper. That Montrose traced it with the point of his sword has been often recorded; but that is a fancy, derived from a literal application of the last line of his impassioned stanzas. The whole story is minutely and graphically told, and the verses themselves elegantly turned in Latin, by Dr Wishart, in the *second Part* of his Commentaries. The original Latin of this second Part (with the exception of the Latin verses) has never been printed; and it has only recently been discovered that a perfect copy of the MS. exists, in the Advocates' Library. See Appendix to this Part.

XVIII. Montrose to Chancellor Hyde, 15th February 1649.

My Lord,—I am so surprised with the sad relations of your's, that I know not how to express it. For the griefs that astonish speak more, with their silence, than those that can complain. And although we could never justly look for other but such a tragic effect, yet the horridness of the thing doth bring along too much of wonder not to be admired, —never enough complained of. I pray God Almighty that our young Master, the King, may make his right use, every way; and, in particular, that rogues and traitors may not now begin to abuse his trusts as they have done his Father's, to ruin him that is all our hopes that are left, and lay all in the dust at once. Their coming at this conjuncture can carry no better things. Their impudence I must confess is great, nay, intollerable; and it concerns all such of you who are able, and faithful unto his Majesty, to make him aware, that at least he may shun their villany. It will be no more time now to dally. For if affection and love to the justice and virtue of that cause be not incitements great enough, anger and so just revenge, methinks, should wing us on. Always, being afraid rather to spoil my thoughts than express them, I shall not trouble you further, in this temper I am in, but only say that I am yours,

Montrose.

February 15, 1649.[1]

[1] This letter is quite unknown to the general reader. No notice of it is to be met with in history. It has been lost sight of in the Appendix to the second volume of the Clarendon State Papers; three valuable, but very unwieldy folios, ill printed, and miserably edited. There, however, this beautiful letter has been preserved. It had escaped the Editor's research when writing the life of Montrose. The Marquis refers, with just indignation and horror, to the fact, that some of the most notorious ringleaders of the faction in Scotland, to whose very door might be traced the blood of Charles I., had the effrontery to thrust themselves forward, and with fatal success, as the *loyal* counsellors of his son. The address of the letter is not given in the Clarendon Papers; but there can be no doubt that it was to Clarendon.

XIX. Montrose to Chancellor Hyde, [February 1649.]

My Lord,—The last occasion parted hence so quickly, as I could have no time to kiss your hands in this kind. And being now so shortly to wait on you there, I will not trouble you with much. Only, let me intreat you advert to my Countrymen's cunnings; who, upon the fears of my meddling, do give out Hamilton's death, and that Argyle should be fled from Scotland, and how all the Country is the King's. All which is only to abuse the King, and withhold, or at least retard, him from taking the courses for his own safety. For they know, if once we engage, the business is half done; and that in a few weeks they must be honest men, or have no knaves left to take their parts. Always, I shall remit all of this till meeting, and be confident you will be pleased see to it, and esteem me as I [it?] shall appear how much I am, my Lord, your most real faithful friend and servant,

Montrose.

This Saturday night.[1]

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Vol. ii. p. 472. This letter must have been written immediately before that meeting with the Chancellor which, as he tells us in his History, took place, after the frost had broken up, in some miserable village not far from the Hague. See the Introduction. This was after the death of Charles I. was known, and the king to whom Montrose refers is Charles II. The Covenanters were exerting all their powers of persuasion and duplicity to induce the young monarch to go to Scotland, and to place himself in the hands of those who had betrayed his father under trust. Montrose never ceased reverting to that fact, warning the King of the danger, and urging a refuge in Ireland. Hamilton was put to death in England upon the 9th of March 1649. Probably it was the rumour of what soon occurred that had reached Montrose, and to which he had not given credit at first. The most probable date to be assigned to this letter is about the month of February 1649, immediately before Montrose presented himself to Charles II. at the Hague. This was after his enemies, Lauderdale and Lanerick, had established themselves there, but before the arrival of the Covenanting Commissioners, who landed about the end of March 1649.

XX. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 27th February 1649.

Sir,—Tho I heave nothing worthy to trouble your Highnes withall, yett being in this place, and upon your score, the humble and affectionatt respects I owe you must make me embrace this occasion to present you the assurance of my perpetuall wishes and desyres for your service: and tho I know not how things may fall outt here (tho I shall doe my indeavours in the persueance of your commands, and all that I conceave you intend), yett lett me beg I may be ever esteimed, as much as I know myself to be, most really, Sir, your Highneses most loveing servand,

Montrose.

Hage, 27 February 1649.

For his Highness Prince Rupert.[1]

XXI. Montrose to Prince Rupert, 8th March 1649.

Sir,—I am too much your affectionatt servand to lett any occasion pass without kissing your hands; and, the rather that this gallant honest gentillman is the carier, who I dare so much adventure to trust, I shall not trouble your Highnes with the particulars, but remitt them unto him, who can informe you at length: to which I know you will lend your countenance; seeing, with his Majesties service, that it concerns so much, Sir, your most loveing and passionatt servand,

Montrose.

Hage, 8 March 1649.

For his Highness Prince Rupert.[2]

[1] Original, Mr Bentley's Collections. See Preface to this Volume.

[2] Original, Mr Bentley's Collections. See Preface to this Volume.

XXII. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 10th March 1649.

Paris ce 10 March 1649.

Mon Cousin,—Ayant reseu votre letter par Pooley, et par iselle veu les assurances de la continuation de votre affection pour le service du Roy, Monsieur mon fils, comme vous aves toujours eu pour selay de feu Roy Monseigneur,—dont le meurtre comis en sa personne doit ocquemanter[1] a tout ses serviteurs la passion de chercher tout les moyens de ses revancher dune mort sy abominable,—et comme je ne doute point que vous ne soyes bien ayse de en avoir les occations, et que pour seste effect vous ne fasies tout ce qui despandra de vous, je vous conjure, donc, de vouloir vous joindre avec tout seux de votre nation qui voudroit resentir comes ils doivent sette mort, et oublier tout ce qui sest passe entre vous. Sest tout ce que jay a vous recommander, et de me croyre avec autant dassurance comme je suis en effect, et seray toujours, Mon Cousin,

Votre bien bonne et affectionnee Cousine et Amie,

Henriette Marie, R.

A mon Cousin, le Marquis de Montrose.[2]

[1] So her Majesty writes the word *augmenter*.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest; which may be thus translated:

Paris, 10th March 1649.

Cousin,—Having received your letter, by Pooley, and the assurances it conveys of your extending to the King, my son, that affection which you have always manifested in the service of the late King, my husband, —the murder committed on whose person ought to rouse all his servants into a passionate inclination to seek every means of avenging a death so abominably perpetrated, —and as I am persuaded you would be well pleased to find the occasion, and will omit nothing on your part to further it, let me intreat you, then, to unite with all your countrymen who entertain a just indignation against that murder, and to forget all former differences. I can give you no better advice than this; and, Cousin, believe me to be, as truly I am, and shall ever remain, your very good and affectionate cousin and friend, Henrietta Maria, R.

To my Cousin, the Marquis of Montrose.

This letter appears to be an answer to one from Montrose to her Majesty, on the subject of the King's death, which unfortunately has not been recovered.

XXIII. Prince Rupert to Montrose, 1st April 1649.

My Lord,—I have receaved three letters from your Lordship in one day, among which there was one sent me by Major General Monrow, whoes businesse though I know not yett, whenever he shall please to lett me know, the assistance I may give it shall be sett forward as much as it may. My Lord, I find on alle occasions that your kindnesse to me is the same you profest; and I am very sory that as yett there is noe occasion for me to give a reall testimony of mine, which I intend upon alle occasions to doe. Of this your Lordship may be confident, since this is from, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithfull
Friend and servand,

Rupert.

Kingsayle, 1 April, 1649.[1]

XXIV. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 22d April.

Paris ce 22 Aprill 1649.

Mon Cousin,—Jay reseu votre lettre. Je nay jamais fait de doute que de votre part vous ne fasies toujours tout ce qui servit pour le service du Roy. Ce qui vous aves fait par le passe, la desja ases temoygne. Je soueterois quil fut en mon pouvoir de vous en faire paroistre mes resentiments; et croyes que lors quil le sera que vous en reseveres les effect

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. Prince Rupert was now with his Fleet at Kinsale in Ireland; where Montrose was most urgent that the King should go, instead of to covenanting Scotland without an army.

The General Monro mentioned, probably was the same who joined the expedition against Scotland in 1652. with the second Marquis of Montrose, and quarrelled with the Earl of Glencairn. They fought a duel which tended to disorganise the adventure.

plus tost que les parolles. Je vous prie den esttre assure, et que je suis avec autant de cinserite quil se peut, Mon Cousin,

Votre bien bonne et affectionnee Cousine,

HENRIETTE MARIE, R.[1]

A Mon Cousin,
le Marquis de Montrose.

XXV. COMMISSIONERS OF THE KIRK TO CHARLES II., 9th April 1649.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—According to our Commission we do represent, in the name of the Kirk of Scotland, their earnest desire, that such as lie under their censure of Excommunication may be discountenanced by your Majesty, and removed from your Court: Especially JAMES GRAHAM, late Earl of Montrose; being a man most justly, if ever any, *cast out of the Church of God.* It hath been the custom of Christian Princes, in all places and times, to maintain so far the discipline of all Churches which themselves did protect by their laws, as (according to the order of Christ) to decline the familiar conversing with every one whom the highest censure of Excommunication made as Ethnicks and Publicans. Your Majesty's walking any other way would be contrary

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest; which may be thus translated:

Paris, 22d April 1649.

COUSIN,—I have received your letter. Never did I harbour a doubt that all will be performed on your part that can possibly promote the interests of the King. Your past actions are a sufficient guarantee. Would it were in my power to convince you of the reality of my gratitude; and believe me, when that time comes, I will rather prove it by deeds than words. I entreat you to rest assured of this, and to believe, Cousin, that I am, with the greatest possible sincerity, your very good and affectionate Cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA, R.

To my Cousin,
the Marquis of Montrose.

Compare this letter with Burnet's scandal, examined in the Introduction to this Part.

to the rules of Scripture, to the practice of those Princes whose gracious examples will be your Majesty's most wholesome pattern, and would certainly give a great stroke to all the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, which your Majesty's royal Grandfather by many of his laws, and your royal Father in his Parliament of Scotland 1640, hath expressly ratified, and we trust your Majesty will never intend to alter; least of all at this time, in the hopeful beginning of your reign, for gratifying of a person, upon whose head lies more innocent blood than for many years has done on the head of any one; *the most bloody murderer in our nation.* We hope for so much mercy from our God, that his gracious spirit shall incline your Majesty's heart to give us just satisfaction in all our necessary desires, that the cordial union of your Majesty with your people, so much longed for on all hands, may with all speed be fully accomplished: And that this *cursed man,* whose scandalous carriage, pernicious counsels, and contagious company, cannot fail (so long as he remains in his obstinat impenitency) to *dishonour and pollute all places of his familiar access,* and to provoke the anger of the most high God against the same, may not be permitted by your Majesty to stand any longer in the entry of our hopes, to our great discouragement and fear, lest by his guilt, example, and actings, all the humble desires, and wholesome counsel which we are intrusted with, should be obstructed and frustrate.

At the command of the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland,

Hugh Young.

April 9 [March 30th, O.S.], 1649.[1]

[1] Clarendon State Papers, iii., lxxxvi. See also Baillie's Letters, iii., 512, where the document is printed with the signatures, Cassils, George Wynram, Robert Baillie, James Wood.

The Commissioners named were Mr Robert Blair, minister at St Andrews; Mr Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow; Mr James Wood, Professor of Divinity in the University of St Andrews, Ministers; and John Earl of Cassillis, and Mr George Wynrame of Libbertoun, Elders. They arrived at the Hague towards the end of the month of March 1649. Lauderdale and Lanerick (Duke Hamilton since 9th March 1649) had arrived there before them; and so had Montrose.

It was the undisguised doctrine of this

XXVI. Montrose to Charles II., 21st May 1649.

May it please your Sacred Majesty,—Having received a paper, whereby I was made to understand that it was your Majesty's pleasure

Kirk faction, that the most cowardly assassination of an estimable young nobleman, (as in the case of Lord Kilpont) and the most cold-blooded and treacherous massacre of prisoners who had been induced to lay down their arms upon the promise of quarter (as in the instance of Philiphaugh), were national acts of justice, and a pious execution of God's wrath, because the sufferers had been opposed to the Covenant; while on the other side, slaying the enemy in battle, or in hot-blooded pursuit in the moment of victory by the soldiers of a loyal army, rendered the General of that army 'the most bloody murderer in our nation.' See the sentiment expressed (vol. i. p. 233) by one of these very Commissioners, Mr Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, on the subject of the murder of Lord Kilpont.

Fortunately Clarendon has preserved the following testimony in favour of Montrose, elicited from one of his most virulent and abusive enemies, at this very crisis at the Hague.

'He to whom this unreasonable animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great fomenter and proseeutor of it, was the Earl of Lautherdale, whose fiery spirit was not capable of any moderation. *The Chancellor* conferring one day with him upon a subject that could not put him into a passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desired him to inform him, what *foul offence* the Marquis of Montrose had ever committed, that should hinder those to make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the rebels, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who could not more desire the King's restitution than he did. The Earl told him, calmly enough, that he could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and inhumanities Montrose was guilty of, in the time he made a war in Scotland; and that he never gave quarter to any man,[1] but pursued all the advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and cruelty; that he had in one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family, of the Campbells, of the blood and name of Argyle, and that he had utterly rooted out several names, and *entire noble families*. The other told him, that it was the nature and condition of that war, that quarter was given on neither side; that those prisoners which were taken by the Scots, as once they did take some persons of honour of his party, were afterwards in cold blood hanged reproachfully;

[1] The very contrary is the truth. Montrose never refused quarter to any man when the opportunity occurred; and when he had granted it, he *never* broke faith. The Covenanters in arms, only granted quarter that they might disarm their opponents, and then butcher them in cold blood.

that I should return my humble opinion upon it, I have made bold, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, humbly to deliver my thoughts, as the shortness of the present time will suffer.

First; Whereas those who call themselves 'Commissioners of the Church of Scotland,' desire a satisfactory answer in reason to their first paper, according to your Majesty's promise: Your Majesty, in my humble opinion, is not, without destroying your own authority and honour, to acknowledge any such capable either of giving or receiving satisfaction, in the interest of your Majesty's service; they being directed only from *pretended* Judicatories, unlawfully convocated and unlawfully proceeding, contrary to the right of Monarchy, fundamental right of that Kingdom, and all your Majesty's just and necessary interests. But since your Majesty is of your goodness pleased,—the more to exonerate yourself, and convince the world of the violence and injury of their proceedings,—to deign them so much patience and study as to hear and answer them upon their whole desires, I shall humbly submit unto your Majesty's pleasure, and only reflect upon their first article, viz. Desiring your majesty would give them assurance, under your hand and seal, of your approbation of their *National Covenant*, subscribed (as they say) by your Majesty's royal Grandfather, and approved and enjoined by your royal Father, of blessed memory:

which was much worse than if they had been killed in the field; and asked him, *if Montrose had ever caused any man to die in cold blood*, or after the *battle was ended?* since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more to be imputed to the fierceness of his soldiers than to his want of humanity. The Earl confessed, *that he did not know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in the field:* but concluded, with more passion, that his behaviour there was so savage, that Scotland would never forgive him. And, in other company, where the same subject was debated, he swore with great passion, that though he wished nothing more in this world than to see the King restored, he had much rather that he should *never be restored*, than that *James Graham* should be permitted to come into the Court. Of which declaration of his the King was informed by William Legg, and Sir William Armorer, who were both present at the Hague, and in the company, when he said it.' (Clarendon's Hist. VI. 290.)

Whereunto though I should humbly wish your Majesty might be pleased to give them satisfaction,—in regard of the times, and the small influence that it can have against your Majesty's affairs elsewhere, and that you should not seem even in appearance to contradict the actions of your royal predecessors,—yet, that your Majesty may not be abused, and that you may see that there is nothing but *fard* in that which may seem *fairest* of all their proceedings, I conceive myself obliged in duty and honour to undervalue all their malice, and truly to inform your Majesty in what you are and may be so much concerned.

It is true that *National Covenant* did pass under colour of the King your Grandfather's authority. But it never can be shewn that he did himself subscribe it, or that any Act of Council ever passed authorizing the same: But the King being at that time in his nonage, some of the factious leading ministers pretending that there were many of quality popishly affected, both about Court and in the Country, desired an oath to be pressed, wherein is *no bond* nor *league of mutual defence*, but a bare *negative confession*, only to have been a touchstone whereby all such as were popish might be decyphered: As witnesseth the thing itself, which only disclaims the exorbitancies and abuses of the Roman Hierarchy, without condemning the primitive times, or ancient discipline from the beginning of all Christian churches; intending it only for that present exigency, as they conceived it; but never dreamt of making it pass as any thing *national*, or to be a snare or stumbling-block to all posterity. And as for the King, your Majesty's royal Father, his assent thereunto,—who knew so well the grounds and *precognitas* of all the design,—how it was (I shall not say further) procured from him, all the world knows. Yet when the Earl of Traquair did sign it in his Majesty's name, as Commissioner in that present Parliament, he declared (as is still upon record) that, in case of ignorance, inadvertence, or any thing against law, or prejudicial to his Majesty's right or royal authority, all to be null and of no effect. But what sad effects this religious pretence has produced since, and how dangerous a principle it is to all authority and

government, I shall humbly leave it to your Majesty to consider. Yet if (upon what is before mentioned, and that it reaches no further than the kingdom of Scotland, and because that many are harmlessly inveigled in it who otherwise mean rightly enough for your Majesty's service) your Majesty should be pleased to seem to dispense with it, [it] would not appear amiss for the times.

As for that of their *Solemn League* (which they always strive to twist alongst with the other), it is so full of injustice, violence, and rebellion, that, in my humble opinion, it were your Majesty's *shame and ruin* ever to give ear to it; it being nothing but a condemning of your royal Father's memory, joining *all* your Dominions in rebellion, by your own consent, against you, and in effect a very formal putting hand on yourself. And when they demand your Majesty's consent to *all Acts* for establishing their League in all your other kingdoms, it is the same thing as if they should desire to undo you by your own leave and favour.

They would also force your Majesty to quit the form of service and worship in your *own family*. And yet they made it a ground of rebellion against your royal Father, that they but imagined he intended to meddle with them in the like kind.[1]

[1] Montrose was no admirer of the Service Book prepared for Scotland in 1637. The violent expressions against it, which occur in his intended 'Remonstrance,' drawn up in Lord Napier's handwriting after the battle of Kilsyth, are remarkable. See Introduction to Part III., vol. i. p. 217. That puritanical language, however, is more like Lord Napier's style of expressing himself on the subject, than Montrose's; who probably would at least have modified the expressions, had that Remonstrance of 1645 come to be published in his name. But both Montrose and Napier imputed the measure entirely to the undue preponderance of the Church in the counsels of the State. They completely exonerated the King himself (as common sense must ever do) from all intention of imposing anything upon Scotland per force, or against the ascertained feelings and habits of the nation. This species of tyrannical interference with the freedom of christian conscience was truly exemplified, in its most hideous aspect, by the Covenanting faction itself, and especially against the calumniated King, as soon as it got a footing. When in this and other matters the cloven-foot of the Covenant appeared, Montrose left it, and so early as to be little defiled. Mr Macaulay has written,

And whereas they say, that, by granting all their extravagant desires, your Majesty would not gain the hearts of Scotland alone, but all others of your other Dominions,—it is most evident, and known to all the world, that your Majesty would lose irrevocably the hearts and services of all your party within the three Kingdoms; besides what would touch your conscience, honour, and memory, before God, the world, and all posterity. For have they not still totally declined the royal party in all your Kingdoms? Juggled with all other sectaries? And is it not their downright tenet, that they must rather receive all than *Malignants*,—those who *profess the King?* As witnesseth their late *calling in of Cromwell*, and all of that nature. Withal they still insist upon their desires, without ever showing the least reason for them; or what they will do to evidence their thankfulness and loyalty; or what assurances they will give upon it.

Whereas they promise to continue the same faithfulness unto your Majesty as *they have done to your royal Father;* it appears they do not at all dissemble on this point. Their selling of him to his enemies, their instructions to their Commissioners, and all their public and private carriages with his murderers, doth sufficiently declare it; as particularly the eighth article of their Instructions, wherein it is said that a King, or Civil Magistrate,[1] is as punishable by the laws as the meanest of the subjects.

As for their pretence in proclaiming your Majesty King, it is the greatest argument can be given of their disloyalty. For while your Majesty is the *hereditary and undoubted* Heir of that Kingdom,—by the uninterrupted succession of so many of your royal progenitors,—in place of declaring your *right*, they question it, or rather, would make it null,

with a brilliant but very loose pen, great nonsense on the subject of the alleged attack on the conscience of Scotland by Charles I. —See *supra*, p. 70.

[1] The term civil magistrate is here used not in the ordinary sense, but in the sense of any representative of supreme or sovereign power.—See Montrose's Essay on the subject, *supra*, p. 43.

by turning your hereditary right to a conditional election of *ands* and *ifs*, which may seem to suit with any person else as well as your Majesty.

As for what they so often reiterate to your Majesty, of your *hand and seal*, for promoting of their Solemn League and Covenant throughout your Dominions,—they make use of this still, like Achilles' lance, to wound your Majesty and heal themselves.

And further, they desire that your Majesty would consent and agree that all matters *civil* should be determined by the Parliament, and all matters *ecclesiastical* by the Assembly; by which your Majesty does clearly see they resolve that *you* should signify nothing: and yet they are not ashamed to say that those desires are so just and necessary for securing the religion and peace of that kingdom, that they cannot subsist without them; even as if your Majesty's government, or the name of a King, were contrary to peace and religion. And still they say that they will contribute their utmost endeavours for your Majesty's re-establishment: but still it is with those provisos of 'lawful means,' and 'according to the League and Covenant;' so as all that is but to grant the antecedent, and always deny the conclusion.

And whereas your Majesty is pleased to press them,—If they have any proposition to make to your Majesty, towards your recovery of your right of England, and bringing the murderers of your royal Father to justice? They say, they have *sufficiently answered it;* although they have never named the same; still aiming to make a stand, having nothing to say, they are forced to play the sceptic in place of better argument.

And besides all this, they have been the fountain and origin of all the rebellions, both among themselves and all others your Majesty's Dominions. And after they had received all full satisfaction, in order to their whole desires both touching Church and State, within their own nation, they entered England with a strong army, and there joined themselves to the rebel party in that Kingdom, persecuted the King your royal Father, till in a kind they had reduced him to deliver himself up into their hands: *And then,* contrary to all duty, gratitude, faith, and hospi-

tality, *they sold him over into the hands of his merciless enemies*,—complotted his death,—connived at his murder,—and have been the only rigid and restless instruments of all his saddest fates. Of all which past horrid misdemeanours they are so little ashamed, that they make it their only business now to preserve their conquest by the same means by which they at first acquired it; *murdering* those of your best subjects, while they pretend to treat with your Majesty's self;[1] and persecuting all those by arms who they think to be affected to you; and being in league and all strictest correspondence with the murderers of your royal Father; and making all vigorous and hostile preparations against what they fear may be so justly attempted by your Majesty against them,—heaping lies and calumnies upon your Majesty's person, party, and cause, to make you still the more hateful to themselves, distrusted by your own, and contemned by strangers, the more to disenable your Majesty against them, and fortify themselves the further for your ruin.

Against all which, in my humble opinion, I know no other remedy (since the disease is so far gone that *lent* physics cannot at all operate)—than that *contraries* should be quickly applied; and that your Majesty should be pleased resolutely to trust the justice of your cause to God and better fortunes; and use all vigorous and active ways, as the only probable human means that is left to redeem you. In the way of which (according to your Majesty's commands) I shall, I hope, be much more able, than in this, to witness unto you with howmuch zeal and faithfulness I am your most Sacred Majesty's most humble, faithful, and obedient Servant.

Read in Council May 21, 1649.[2] MONTROSE.

[1] Argyle had just accomplished the death of the Marquis of Huntly, on the shambles of the Covenant.

[2] The original draft of this letter is in the Montrose charter-chest, where it is entitled, 'My opinion to his Majesty upon the desires of the Scots Commissioners at the Hague;' but it is neither dated nor subscribed. It is also printed, with some trifling variations, in the Appendix to the last volume of the Clarendon State Papers.

XXVII. King Charles to Montrose, 22d June 1649.

Montrose,—Whereas the necessity of my affairs has obliged me to renew your former trusts and commissions concerning the Kingdom of Scotland: The more to encourage you unto my service, and render you confident of my resolutions, both touching myself and you, I have thought fit by these to signify to you, that I will not determine any thing, touching the affairs of that Kingdom, without having your advice thereupon. As also, I will not do any thing that shall be prejudicial to your commission.

Charles R.

Breda, June 22, 1649.[1]

[1] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 2. See Preface to this Volume.

Charles II. having meanwhile declined the insolent terms of the Covenanting Commissioners at the Hague, though strenuously backed by the violent and unprincipled Lauderdale, was now on his way to the Queen Mother in France. He first passed at Breda, and then at Brussels. Montrose accompanied him to both places; and when the King quitted Brussels for St Germains, the Marquis remained in Holland, until some time in the month of August. Then he proceeded to execute his mission to foreign states, preparatory to acting upon his other high commission, as Captain-General of Scotland. Clarendon either was ignorant of the precise nature of the King's instructions to Montrose, or he acted very meanly in his mode of recording the circumstances. The passage of his History, in which he gives an account of the hero's first approach to Charles II., so erroneous that it can be disproved even by the Clarendon Papers, has been examined in the Introduction. Moreover, Clarendon conveys no impression whatever that Charles II. not only, at the very commencement of his reign, invested Montrose with the highest commissions at home and abroad, but was continually urging him to active hostilities, against the Covenanting faction, and entreating him to place no credit in any reports of his Majesty's being, or likely to be, otherwise inclined towards those who had sold his father. The King having thus pledged himself to Montrose at Breda, as soon as they reached Brussels in the following month, invested him with credentials as Ambassador Extraordinary to all foreign States who might be inclined to aid the King of England. See these Commissioners more particularly noted *infra*, p. 388.

XXVIII. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 24th June 1649.

My Lord,—I have desired Sir Edward Herbert to let you know how by great chance I have found that the Prince of Orange will again extremely press the King to grant the Commissioners' desires, and so ruin him through your sides. I give you this warning of it, that you may be provided to hinder it. I have had a huge dispute with *Beverwert* about it. For God's sake leave not the ——[1] as long as he is at Breda; for without question there is nothing that will be ommitted to ruin you and your friends, and so the King at last. It is so late as I can say no more; only believe me ever your most constant affectionate friend,

Elizabeth.

The Hagh, this 24th of June [1649.]

I give you many thanks for your picture. I have hung it in my cabinet to fright away *the Brethern*. Tell *my Highlander* that *the Brethern* do not forget to lie; for they say his countrymen will also join with them. I pray commend me to him.[2]

[1] Thus stupidly printed in Berkeley's Relics. It can only mean the King, who had just gone from the Hague to Breda.

[2] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 6. See Preface to this Volume. The picture alluded to in the postscript is, in all probability, that of which the frontispiece to this volume is a faithful engraving, and the history of which has been given in the Preface to the first volume of these Memorials, p. xvi. 'My Highlander' probably means Seaforth. With regard to 'Beverwert,' the following occurs in a letter from William Spang at the Hague to his cousin Principal Baillie, dated $\frac{9}{19}$ March 1649. 'My next purpose was to find out whereto the Prince of Orange was inclined. For this purpose I went to two of the States General, of whose intimacy with the Prince's counsels all men did speak. I fand them not only declaring their anne judgement for the King's going to Scotland, and embracing the Covenant, but that that also was the Prince's mynd. From thence I went to sundry uthers, and from none did I get surer information then from the Lord of Beverwerd, governor of

My Lord, I have desired Sr Edward Herbert to let you know how by great chance I have found that Sr Bevis Bulmer will oppose Mr Danvers he pretending to ground the commissioners desire, and to ruine him through your side, I give you this warning of it that you may be provided to hinder it. I have had a huge dispute with Sr Edward Herbert about it, for Gods sake leave not Mr Danvers so long as he is at Bradon for without question there is nothing that will be omitted to ruine you and your friends and to the King at last, it is no time by I can say no more but remain

Your most confident affectionate friend

Elizabeth

The Night I received your letter I writ to Mr Danvers to hasten his coming up and to be sure to be here the 20th of this month and I have left my brother Sr Francis Wortley to attend the business that night and the next morning and to command him to meet me at Bradon the 20th of this month and I will be there myself the 21st and command him to meet me there also with his witnesses

XXIX. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 3d July 1649.

My Lord,—I have received yours by my Lord of Kinnoul.[1] I hope these news I send by Broughton will help to persuade the King to make haste to go for Ireland; for one Inglesbie, a captain of Cromwell's regiment, who is come upon Monday last from London, and his brother, told him how that Cromwell,—I mean that arch rebel,—had received news how their ships, being before Kinsale, are all taken or sunk, to the number of nine of them. They sought to have corrupted the captain of the fort at Kinsale, for sixty thousand pounds, to have delivered it to them; which he advertising Rupert of, by his counsel he continued the treaty, and so got them all in, and have sunk or taken nine at least. And Inglesbie saith that they are all up again in Scotland; that the English rebel Parliament can get no soldier to go for Ireland; but it is thought they will send their army for Scotland; without doubt to help *the Brethern* there. I wish *Jamie Grame*[2] amongst them with all his followers. But till there be taken a better resolution than I hear my

Bergen, natural son to Prince Maurice, a nobleman treuly pious, and of a public spirit, resolute to imploy his credite for religion, and of high account with the Prince, in whose counsels he hes chief influence.' (Baillie's Letters, iii. 72.) The Queen of Bohemia had a better sense of the true interests of religion than her natural grandson.

[1] George, third Earl of Kinnoul. He preceded Montrose to Orkney, on the fatal expedition to Scotland, in which he was taking the most active and zealous part, when he died suddenly at Kirkwall, ere Montrose had joined him. What is most singular, his uncle the Earl of Morton, whom he had joined there, died in the same castle a few days before him, both being in health and high hopes when they met. See Number XXXVIII., and *note*.

[2] A playful allusion to the untitled designation bestowed upon the loyal Marquis by the Covenanters. A vein of arch humour, and kindly affection, pervades these interesting letters, indicating how cheerful a disposition, and how light a heart, had been overlaid by the heaviest hand of fate. Montrose had accompanied the King, on his way to France, from the Hague to Breda, and was now with his Majesty at Brussels, and in the highest favour. See *supra*, p. 383, *note*.

Lord Jermin desires, I do not desire you should quit Bruxelles while there is danger of change. I hear Jermin has orders to get your commission for Hamilton. If that be true, sure they are all mad, or worse. I write this freely to you; wherefore I pray you burn this, for I do not desire to have it seen.[1] You may well know why. This bearer will tell you all the story of the Antelope, which has a little nettled these men. I pray God you may read this, for I have scribbled it in great haste. I hope that you will be able to read this truth, that I am ever constantly your most affectionate

ELIZABETH.

The Hagh, this 3d of July 1649.

I had thought to have sent Broughton to the King with these news; but hearing he had them already, I stayed him; and this bearer, Mr Carey, going to Bruxelles, I give him this. I can add nothing but my wishes that you may persuade the King for his good. I pray tell *my Highlander* I hope yet that his people will have another bout.

This 4th of July.[2]

XXX. QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA TO MONTROSE, 22d July 1649.

St Germain, ce 22 Juliett 1649.

MON COUSIN,—Jay reseu deux de vos lettres en mesme tamps, lune

[1] Could her Majesty have known, that, two hundred years afterwards, the letter was to appear among these Memorials of Montrose, she would have pardoned its preservation.

[2] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 7. See Preface to this Volume. The Queen of Bohemia corresponded with the Earl of Seaforth, who was chief of the Mackenzies, and whose loyalty, though somewhat of the loosest and the latest, was now admitted even by Montrose, whom he joined at the Hague. Probably her Majesty alludes to this 'high chief of Kintail' under the designation of 'my Highlander.'

St germain ce 22 juillet
1664

Mon cousin j'ay receu deux de vos lettres en mes
ne Pampes l'une par milord endouer [illegible] de
ville d'Abe l'autre par ayton: et dans toute
les deux je trouue la continuation de vre affection
envers moy: la quelle je reconois auec beaucoup de ioye
Priant le destin que pour vous qui ne
diminuera jamais mais que je conseruera
quelque fortune qui me puisse arriuer et vous
demonstre mon zele que vous en faites de mesme
pour moy puis que je vous et vous prie de
le croire et seray toujours constamment
Mon cousin

Vostre bonne et affectionné
cousine et amie
Henriette Marie

par milord Endover de vielle date, lautre par Ayton; et dans toute les deux, je trouve la continuation de votre affection [pour] moy; la quelle je resois avec beaucoup de satisfaction, ayant lestime que pour vous qui ne diminuera jamais; mais que je conserveray quelque fortune qui me puisse ariver; et vous demande aussy que vous en fasies de mesme pour moy, puis que je suis, et vous prie de le croyre, et seray toujours constamment, Mon Cousin,

Votre bien bonne et affectionnee Cousine et amie,

HENRIETTE MARIE, R.

A Mon Cousin,
le Marquis de Montrose.[1]

XXXI. THE DUKE OF YORK TO MONTROSE, 23d July 1649.

MY LORD,—I give you many thanks for your kind expressions towards me in yours from Brussels, and am very glad the King, my brother, has found an occasion of employing you, being confident you have a heart full of zeal and affection to his service. I shall be glad to hear often from you, especially when you will give me an occasion of mak-

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest; which may be thus translated:—

Paris, 22d July 1649.

COUSIN,—I have received two letters from you at the same time; one by my Lord Andover, of an old date, the other by Ayton; and in both of them I find proofs of your continued affection for me, which I accept with great satisfaction, having an esteem for you that never can be diminished, but which I shall always retain, whatever fortune befall me; and I must exact the same sentiments from yourself towards me, since, cousin, I am, pray believe me, and shall ever faithfully remain, your good and affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA, R.

To my Cousin,
The Marquis of Montrose.

Compare this letter with Burnet's scandal, examined in the Introduction to this Part. Although Henrietta Maria unfortunately allowed herself to be influenced and guided by vicious counsels, it is manifest, from all her letters, that she always esteemed and respected Montrose.

ing good to you my resolution of being always your very affectionate friend,

JAMES.

St Germains, July 23, 1649.

My Lord, you must be kind to Hary May, for my sake.[1]

XXXII. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 1st–11th August 1649.

My Lord,—This bearer has desired me to recommend him to you, that he may be a gentleman of the company of your guards. His name is

[1] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 5. See Preface to this Volume.

It is an important fact, not to be gathered from the narrative of Clarendon, examined in the Introduction, that immediately upon the Accession, and some weeks before the Commissioners of the Kirk arrived at the Hague, Charles II. had already invested Montrose with a Commission to renew the war in Scotland, comprehending the highest powers, as Viceroy there. The original commission, 'Given under our signe mannall and Privy Signett at the Hage, the fourth day of March, in the first yeare of our raigne,' is preserved in the Montrose Archives. This is just seventeen days after Montrose's letter to Clarendon, on the death of Charles I. (p. 371.) The commission, therefore, is contemporaneous with his coming to the Hague at that time. But the Duke of York, in the above letter, alludes to another high commission which immediately followed, and the original of which is also preserved in the Archives of his family. The King grants a royal diploma to Montrose, under his seal and sign manual, '*Datum Bruxellis*, 6 *die Julij*, *Anno Salutis*, M. D. C. 1649,' and addressed to the Emperor, and all other Princes and Powers, constituting the Marquis his Plenipotentiary to all foreign States. In virtue of this commission Montrose quitted Holland before the end of August 1649, and commenced a progress through the northern States of Europe, in fulfilment of the King's express instructions to raise forces, and to obtain the sinews of war. Upon this occasion, not many months before his death in Scotland, Montrose was constantly with the King of Denmark, the Queen of Sweden, and other potentates, who treated him with great distinction and kindness.

Bushel, and he has served the King, my dear brother, as captain. His uncle served me long as master of my horse; and his cousin-german was my page, and killed in these wars with Rupert: besides, his eldest brother has done the King very good service.[1] I tell you all this, that the gentleman may find your favour the more upon his own deserving. I believe this letter will not come so speedily to your hands that I should tell you how we pass our time here. But that is soon said, for all is but walking abroad and shooting, which now I have renewed myself in. I will only entreat you to be confident, that nobody is more truly than I am your most constant affectionate friend,

ELIZABETH.

From Rhene, this $\frac{1}{11}$th of August [1649.][2]

XXXIII. THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA TO MONTROSE, 4–14th August 1649.

MY LORD,—I return you your letters, with my thanks for them. I pray God keep the King in his constancy to you and his other true friends and servants. But till he be gone from where he is, I shall be in pain. While you stay in this country, it will be a great charity in you to let me know the news you receive; for here is none to be had, the place being very barren of all news. We have nothing to do but to walk and shoot. I am grown a good archer, to shoot with my Lord Kinnoul. If your office will suffer it, I hope you will come and help us to shoot. Howsoever, I conjure you be confident you have no friend esteems you more than doth she that is your most constant affectionate friend,

Rene, this $\frac{4}{14}$th of August [1649.][3] ELIZABETH.

[1] See *supra*, p. 125, where the fate of a Captain Bushel is noted.

[2] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 10. See Preface to this Volume.

[3] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 11. See Preface to this Volume.

This letter probably refers to Montrose's communication to her Majesty of the pri-

XXXIV. Montrose to the Earl of Seaforth, 15th August 1649.

My Lord,—I am joyed you ar weale, tho sory you are still in that place; for your presence wher you know, wold doe much goode, since you see affairs goe so equally, and on such a levell. Alwayes,[1] I hope thes will fynd you goeing, and my best wishes shall accompany you alongs. I am just now setting out, and intends to recover thir delays by the best dispatch I can. As I am able, you shall receave my accounts with that, that I shall ever be, my Lord, your Lordship's cossing and faithfull servand,

Montrose.

Hage, 15 August 1649.

For the Right Honourable the Earle of Siafort.[2]

vate instructions, and high commissions, with which he had already been honoured by Charles II. The allusion to archery, affording so interesting a trait of the naturally cheerful disposition of that most amiable but unfortunate Princess, who was styled 'The Queen of hearts,' acquires an additional interest, since the discovery of Montrose's devotion to archery, in his College days. We shall have occasion to record particularly the fate of Kinnoul afterwards. The King was now at St Germains, the Queen of Bohemia at Rhenen, and Montrose at the Hague. See next Number.

[1] *Alwayes*, a Scotch phrase, frequently used by Montrose, signifying *however*.

[2] Original, Seaforth charter-chest. This letter, and other Seaforth Papers, are printed, but very inaccurately, in Constable's edition of the translation of Wishart's Commentaries, published in 1819. The very obliging communication, by the Honourable Mrs Stewart Mackenzie, of her interesting family Papers, has enabled the editor of these Memorials to print them accurately.

Montrose was now proceeding to execute the King's commands, under his Commission of 6th July 1649. See *supra*, Number XXXI., and *note*. In a long paper, dated 20th January 1650, and entitled 'proceedings of the Marquis of Montrose,' which had been enclosed to Sir Edward Nicholas at Jersey, where the King then was, the movements of Montrose, at this time, are minutely detailed. It is there stated, that he left Holland towards the end of August 1649, and first visited the

XXXV. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 2d–12th September 1649.

My Lord,—This gentleman, called Burton, desires this to you, that I will recommend him to your favour, to wait upon you into Scotland, and [that] when you come there he may have some charge. He has money in his purse, and desires no other thing but employment, having served the King my brother. I hope I shall have better fortune in this recommendation than in that of Bushel: for Fox assures me he knows him, and I write this at his request. It is most cruel hot weather since you went. There is no news: only the King is still at St Germains, but constant to his resolutions for Ireland, and for all his friends. For all that, I would he were well gone from there. The French King is at Paris: and I still here, who conjure you to believe this truth, that you have no friend living that wisheth you more happiness than doth your most constant affectionate friend,

Elizabeth.

Rene, this 2d September, O. S. [1649.]

N.B.—When I write to you next, because letters may be taken, I shall not put all my name to them, but this cypher, E. I pray, my Lord,

Duke of Friesland; then he proceeded to Hamburgh. This, no doubt, was in consequence of the special commission, bearing date after he had left Holland, and which must have followed him. See the next Number. At Hamburgh the Marquis organized his communications with all the Princes of Germany, in behalf of Charles II. He then joined the King of Denmark in Holstein, and was with him at Flensburgh, in the month of October 1649. From thence he proceeded to Copenhagen, where he joined the Queen of Sweden, who received the loyal Marquis with the same distinction and cordiality of affection which had marked his reception by the King of Denmark. From such employments, and such companionship, Montrose almost immediately passed into the hands of those savages in his own country, who put him to death. (See Carte's Ormond Papers, i. 345.)

commend me to my Lord Napier. Assure him I wish him all happiness.[1]

XXXVI. King Charles II. to Montrose, 5th September 1649.

Charles R.—Right trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin, We greet you well. We send you herewith a Relation which we have lately received from our trusty and welbeloved Sir John Cockeran, Knight, of his proceedings with the Towne of Hamborough; and being justly sensible how unnecessary it is for us at this time to make new enimies, or to be over severe in our resentments of such things as in a time of more prosperity we ought to insist upon, we therefore desire, and we hereby require and authorise you, to employ yourselfe, by such wayes and expedients as you shall thinke fitt, to compose the differences, and to settle a better understanding betweene us and the said Towne of Hamborough. Only, in that particular of their resolution to receive a publique Minister from the bloudy rebells in England, we cannot but believe it to be inconsistent with all amity and alliance with us; which our pleasure is shall be so represented to them; but without any menaces or threates on our part; to the end that if they shall avowedly receive any such publique Minister, we may be at liberty to take such resolution as shall be fitt for our owne honor and interests. In the meane time we desire you to presse the Senate to give us some present testimony of their good affection, by supplying us with the loane of a considerable somme of money, upon such assurance of repayment as we can for the present give them. And if any money can be gotten from them, our pleasure is, that one halfe therof shall be for your employment, and that the other halfe be

[1] Archibald 2d Lord Napier, Montrose's nephew. See *supra*, p. 307. Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 12. See Preface to this Volume. Besides the high commissions noted *supra*, p. 388, Charles II. now put the special employment upon the loyal Marquis relating to Hamburg, which the next Number illustrates.

My Lord I intreate you to goe on vigourously and with your wonted courage and care in the prosequution of those trusts I have committed to you, and not to be startled wth any reports you may heare, as if I were otherwise inclined to the presbiterians then when I left you, I assure you I am still upon the same principles I was, and depend as much as ever upon your undertaking and endeavours for my service, being fully resolved to assist and support you therein to the vttermost of my power, as you shall find in effect when you shall desire any thing to be done by

your affectionate friend

Charles R

St Germans the 19th of Sept. 1649.

remitted for our use to our trusty and welbeloved John Webster of Amsterdam, marchant, some proportion being first deducted out of the whole for the supply of our trusty and welbeloved servant Sir John Cockeran, Knight. And so recommending this business to your care, and good endeavours, We bidd you heartily farewell. Given at St Germain the 5th day of September 1649.

To our right trusty and right intirely beloved
Cousin, James Marquis of Montrose.[1]

XXXVII. King Charles II. to Montrose, 19th September 1649.

My Lord,—I entreate you to goe on vigourously, and with your wonted courage and care, in the prosequution of those trusts I have committed to you, and not to be startled with any reports you may heare, as if I were otherwise inclined to the Presbiterians then when I left you. I assure you I am still upon the same principles I was, and depend as much as ever upon your undertaking and endeavours for my service, being fully resolved to assist and support you therein to the uttermost of my power, as you shall find in effect when you shall desire any thing to be done by

Your affectionate friend,

Charles R.

St Germain the 19th of September 1649.
For the Marquis of Montrose.[2]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. See *supra*, p. 392, *note*. See also Appendix to this Part, as to Sir John Cockeran, and the Relation sent by him to the King, as mentioned in the above Commission.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This important, and, under all the circumstances, melancholy letter, affords another convincing proof that Montrose was irresistibly urged upon his fatal expedition by the King himself. Charles II. at the very time was playing the opposite game, with the party against whom he had commissioned the devoted and heroic nobleman.

XXXVIII.—The Earl of Kinnoul to Montrose, September 1650.

My very Noble Lord,—Your Lordship's good fortune hes so much influence upon those that have the honor to obey your comandes, that I darre promes myself as good success in the busines, as your Lordship shall see whow haipie we have bein hitherto.

After a tedius stormy on-and-twenty days sea jurny, wee cast ancher at Kirkwall; wher I found, by boatmen that came from the toune, that my unckle Mortone[1] was att a house of his aune, some 16 meiles from this place. Bieng wery confident of his loyaltie, I venterd to land; and without reposing, I took hors, and went in all heast to him, having left orderes to our men to land in the night, which was punctually obeyed. I found my Lord more zelus to the obedience of the Kings commandes, and your Lordships, then I thoght possible a personne of his fortune in this place of the world could be; in so much that, efter I was bold to call us faive hundreth, he wisht them hartily thousants, and gave me all asseurances, that so soone as we wolde show our selves to be in capacitie to reduce the cuntry, he wold not faile to be assistant to us, in lyff and fortune; which bieng impossible for us to compasse, I was forced (by my Lords desyre) to send a party from this to his house of Birza, requeiring ane positive answere, and active assistance; which was so hartily condescended to, that I shall humbly desyre your Excellence to considder him as the cheefest instrument, nixt to your Lordship, of the Kings service. I ame confident of your approbatione anent my procedeur, since it was the sence of those that affectes the Kings service, and honors your Lordship most. My unckle, my Lord of Mortone, was plaised to thinke he was neglected, in that the commissiones for stating this cuntrie were not imedeately conferred on him from your Lordship; whereupon, having all assurance of his Lordships realitie, I

[1] George, second Earl of Kinnoul, married a sister of the eighth Earl of Morton. The writer of this letter must have been the third Earl of Kinnoul.

weaved my oune interest so much, that I reseind all power of my commissiones to him, which he was plaised to accept of befor the gentilmen of this cuntrie who were convocat for the receaving of his commaundes, and your Excellences; which we so cheerfully embract, that unanimusly they did condescend to a posteur of warre for our present defence, to consiste of four hundreth men, presently to be levied, which is sufficient to manteane this place agenst all that dare call themselves Committes.

I hop your Lordship shall feind this resignatione conduce so much to that advantage of the Kings service, that I shall have no bleame from you; but, on the contraire, I could nether bein answerable to my allegence, nor your Lordship, if I had refused it, having asseurance, under my Lord his hand and seale, to be repossesst in my commissiones so soon as your Lordship shall think fitt the regement shall wait on you in Scotland. For my part, I esteame it the greatest advantage under the sun that I have this occasione of testefieing my respect to your Lordship. This aetione has given the rebelles such a blow, that I will tak it *on my salvation*, if you fall upon them att this nick of ther distemper, you shall feind assistance beyond all expectatione, and that sufficiend to effeetuat your intentiones. *Your Lordship is gapt after with that expectation that the Jews look after ther Messia.* And certenly your presence will restore your groaning Cuntrie to its liberties, and the King to his rights.

God Almighty hes not only blist us thus by land, but hes made those wee warre to expect disservice from, our frindes; for the nixt day after wee landed, ther anchord a shipp of 18 gunnes in another roaad of this seame island; the Captaine no sooner understood the reality of our intentiones, and your orders, but very galently delivred the reabelle armes unto us, and declared ship and all to be at your commandes. Your Lordship knos best whow to gratifie so generus ane act, which hes meade me to give him assurance of your keindnes, and him to think himself haipy in the expectatione of it. I shall humbly intreat your

Lordship to send my Lord anc absolute commissione for these Islandes, and that you wold recalle such commissiones as his Lordship conseaves to be to his prejudice; as George Drummondes, whose father is my Lords ennimie, and is gone to the south to shunne ingaging in this bussines. My unkcle has proved so cordiall and so active, that his doings are beyond the limetes of being satisfied by woordes. I ame confident you will finde it fitt to befrind him in all his particulares. For mee, if your Lordship will doe me the honor to believe that ther is nothing able to alter my esteame of you, I shall be incurreged to serve you fathfully; and shall be still haipie in being the most passionatte of your servantes,

KINNOULE.[1]

Kirkwall.

[*Endorsed.*]—Lord Kenouils letter to James Graham.

[1] Original, Wodrow MSS., Folio lxvii., Number 93. The writer of the letter is George Hay, third Earl of Kinnoul, whom the peerage writers, and all other modern notices, state to have died in 1677. But it was the fifth Lord Kinnoul who died in that year; and we must here restore two links of the peerage which have been entirely lost sight of.

It is a striking fact, that soon after the date of that earnest letter (affording one of the many impulses to the sad fate of Montrose), and some time before the Marquis passed over to Orkney, both Kinnoul, and his uncle the Earl of Morton, had died there. The letter, which is not dated, must have been written in or about the month of September 1649. For all the contemporary accounts agree in this, that Kinnoul reached Orkney with some troops, in that month. Upon that occasion he was accompanied by one Captain John Gwynne, whose meager memoirs were edited by Sir Walter Scott. This loyalist gives some account of the various perils of their voyage, and eulogizes the conduct and intrepidity of their leader Kinnoul. Then he adds :—'About two months after, the Earl of Kynoole fell sick at Bursay, the Earl of Morton's house, and there dyed of a pluresy; whose loss was very much lamented, as he was truly honorable, and perfectly loyal.' This record had puzzled Sir Walter Scott, who notes with some appearance of scepticism, that Gwynne's account is strangely at variance with all

XXXIX. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 2d October 1649.

My Lord,—I was very glad to see by yours of the 4-14th of the last

the genealogical writers, who trace the adventures of this Earl of Kinnoul through a long subsequent period, and ascertain his death to have been in 1667. But the loyal Captain was a follower of the Earl's, and could not be mistaken. Moreover, this corroboration occurs in Lamont's diary: 'I650, *Mar.* The Lord Kinnoull, surnamed Hay, depairted out of this life at Orkenay, wha came in ther with some men to molest this Kingdome.' There are circumstances which tend to prove that Lamont was mistaken as to the *month* in which Kinnoul died. Strange to say, the Earl of Morton mentioned in that letter died very shortly before his noble nephew, and also in the same place. Kinnoul's letter was written some time in September. Morton died upon the 12th of November thereafter. Gordon of Sallagh, in his continuation of the history of the Earls of Sutherland, records the fact of Kinnoul coming from Holland to Orkney, with his troops, in the month of September 1649, and joining his Uncle there. Then he adds: 'Presentlie thereafter the Earl of Morton dyed, and *within few dayes* Kinnoul dyed also, at Kirkwal in Orkney, *unto whom his brother succeeded.*'

Lord Napier, in his letter of 1648 from Brussels, mentions 'Monsieur Hay, Kennoules brother.' (See *supra*, p. 309, where it is misprinted *Monsreux.*) The new Earl had come to Orkney with some recruits after his brother's untimely death; and it must be he who is mentioned in that letter of the 3d of March 1650, from Thomas Ogilvy, which forms a subsequent Number. That Morton died on the 12th of November 1649, is also stated in a declaration emitted by the Commissary of Orkney at the time; who there mentions that the Uncle and Nephew had been at variance on the subject of commanding the troops. (See Appendix to Peterkin's Notes on Orkney.) According to Kinnoul's account, however, this had been most amicably and dutifully arranged by the voluntary cession of the nephew. Yet the idea of enmity was prevalent at the time. For Sir James Balfour, in his Annals, though he does not mention the death of Kinnoul, thus records that of his Uncle. 'The 12 day of November this yeir, Robert Douglas, Earle of Morton, departed this lyffe, *of a displeasure conceived at his nephew*, George, Earle of Kinoule, at the Castell of Kirkewall, in Orknay, 1649.'

It is singular that Balfour should not have noted that the nephew also died not many days after in the same castle. When Montrose arrived there in the month of March, the two noblemen, whose longings for his advent are so ardently expressed in the above letter, were no more! It was the same Kinnoul whom the Queen of

month,[1] that you are safely arrived at Hamburgh. I give you many thanks for your favours to Major Brierton at my request. The business in Ireland is not so bad as it was reported at first, but too ill for the King's affairs. Ormond has lost no towns, nor Cromwell done any thing. But from England they keep the affairs of that kingdom so in a cloud as we hear nothing of certainty; which I hope is a good sign that the King's affairs there go better than they would have known. They went for Jersey upon Monday was se'ennight. My Ladie Herbert writes to me, that, if he find no impediment of the Parliament ships, he will go to Ireland; otherwise, he will stay at Jersey for a sure passage. Culpepper is gone for Muscovy. The spices and *aquavitæ* will burn him quickly up. My Lord Jermin is coming hither, it is said, to take order about

Bohemia mentioned as her companion in the sport of archery, to which she invites Montrose. (See *supra*, p. 389.) And the brother who succeeded him perished by a yet harder fate not many weeks afterwards. 'James Graham,' says Gordon of Sallagh, 'and *the Earl of Kinnoul* escaping, with six or seven in their company, wandered up that river the whole ensuing night, and the next day, and the third day also, without any food or sustenance, and at last came within the country of Assint. The Earl of Kinnoul, being faint for lack of meat, and not able to travel any further, was left there among the mountains, where it was supposed he perished.' This then was the fourth Earl; and it was the fifth, and not the third, who died in 1677.

[1] The two dates indicate the old and the new style, a difference which created no little confusion of dates, in those days, when the new, or *Gregorian* correction of the calendar (being ten days in advance of the old or *Julian* style) was only adopted by Catholic States. Hence a date is sometimes given according to the old style, sometimes according to the new, and sometimes under the alternative of both. This requires close attention, in matters of precise chronology; a circumstance not always attended to. The Gregorian correction, which occurred in the year 1582, also established the commencement of the year upon the first of January. In Scotland, however, the 25th of March continued to be new year's day until James VI. changed it to the first of January, by an Act of Council in 1600. But the 25th of March continued to be considered new year's day in England until so late as 1752, when the new or Gregorian style was adopted by Act of Parliament. Hence the double mode, which frequently occurs, of indicating the year, as for example 1649-50. This difference also requires close attention in chronology.

the jewels. Others think it is to meet with Duke Hamilton, Latherdale, and your other friends, to have new Commissioners sent to the King from the *godly brethern*, to cross *wicked Jamie Graham's* proceedings. But I am assured, from a good hand, that it will do no good, the King continuing still most constant to his principles as you left him. The Duke of York is with him. I have heard nothing of Rupert since you went from France. They say he is at sea. The States of Holland have desired the States General to give audience to Strekland, as a public Minister from a free State; but they have refused it. I am here since Friday was fortnight. The Princess of Orange is also returned, who is in great fear that my Lord Jermin's coming is to bring the Queen hither; which I wish heartily, to see how she shall be troubled to make her court where she doth not love very well. This is all I have to say to you at this time; only, I conjure you to be confident, that, without all compliment, I am ever your most affectionate constant friend,

E.

The Hagh, this 2d October [1649.][1]

XL. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 5-15th October 1646. 9

My Lord,—This bearer gives me the opportunity of sending these for you. The good Lord Brainford is come, and left the King and the Duke of York very well at Jersey. He assures me he is constant to his principles. By this bearer you will know all the particulars. I find good old Brainford very constant to you.[2] He confirms what I writ to you by my last, about the Lord Jermin's coming, who is not yet arrived, but we look for him every day. I hope you have heard, before this comes to your hand, of Cromwell's being defeated before ————.

[1] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 13. See Preface to this Volume.

[2] The Earl of Brentford and Forth. See *supra*, p. 123, *note*.

Though the rebels at London seek to conceal it all they can, yet it comes from all parts. A French Lieutenant of d'Ouchant's regiment heard of it at Plymouth, which makes me the more believe it. I hope the next week will make it more true. Young Boswell has wrote it to Sir William Boswell from Edinburgh; where, he says also, that those that govern there make shew to wish to have their King; but yet he sees no disposition in them to lessen their conditions to him. I shall not fail to let Mr Leith know all that I hear of Jermin's negotiating here; for be confident that I am ever your most constant affectionate friend,

E.

The Hagh, this $\frac{5}{15}$ of October [1649.]

Our friend the Princess of Zolern has won her process for the Marquisate of Berg. The Denmark Ambassador is going away, having concluded a league betwixt his master and the States, who gave the King a good considerable sum of money. I wish you part of it, if not all.[1]

XLI. Montrose to the Earl of Seaforth, 27th October 1649.

My Lord,—Tho I have writt many tymes to you, which siemes is not come to your hands, and only receaved some two of yours, yet I cannot bot tell you how glaid I am att the informations I receave of your nobell and resolutt carriages concerning his Majestie, and your kynd ones towards your freinds, which I assure you hes procured you so much respect amongst all honourable people, as is not to be exchanged for a world. For what freindship you have beane pleased to doe me the honor to witnes (tho it can be no more than I ever promised to myself),

[1] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 15. See Preface to this Volume.

I will make you the faithfulest returne my lyfe can doe; and, if it please God I lose it not very suddenly, I shall be sure not to dye in your debt. Meantyme I humbly entreat you be confident, that wherever I be, or whatever occasions I may heave to correspond with you, or not, that I can never forgett what I owe you; but shall ever in all fortunes, places, and tymes, be faithfully, and as effectually as it may please God I can, my Lord, your Lordships most faithfull cossing and servand,

MONTROSE.

Copnahagen, 27 October, *veteri*.

I am useing your advyse, and setting furth in the way that is possible; and I shall make you the best account that it shall please God to give me leave.

For the Earle of Seaforth, This.[1]

XLII. MONTROSE TO ———, 3d November 1649.

SIR,—I receaved yours, and am very weale satisfyed with the cours you heave taken concerning that Lieutenant Cornell. As for that proposition touching the ships, and that ship of cloth, and all of that kynd, iff it can be handsomely done, and be sure that it shall not misgive, I

[1] Original, Seaforth Papers. This letter, which the hero evidently writes under the impression that he was leading a forlorn hope, evinces his great anxiety to secure the slippery adherence of the influential chief of the Mackenzies, and more thankfulness than deserved for his useless and late assistance. Montrose returned to active loyalty in the first hour—Seaforth to passive loyalty somewhat later than the eleventh. The solitary champion of the Monarchy was always ready to forget that those whom he had drubbed into loyalty had ever been other than loyal. But he owed Seaforth nothing, and the Covenanters owed him much. What might his earnest co-operation not have done after the battle of Inverlochy; nay, after the disaster at Philiphaugh? And what did he now? Simply promised, and it may be used, some influence, in aid of this last expedition, which he did not accompany.

should be joyed with it. Only, iff it be medled with, lett it be sure to carry, otherwayes it will give disreputt. For places to come to, lett them come to Gottenbery, or a port belonging to the Queine of Sued, neir it, and I will answer for them; for I heave all civilityes can be from that place. Be doing the best you can in all, and expect ane express from me, with all possible haste. I am, Sir, your constant leall servand,

MONTROSE.

Copnahagen, 3 November 1649.[1]

XLIII. THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA TO MONTROSE, 19–29th November 1649.

MY LORD,—Yesterday I received a letter from Paris, that Rupert was gone out of Kinsale, and passed by St Malo, three weeks ago, with six good ships. He set Choque ashore there, his surgeon, who wrote this to Paris, and that he was to go to the King at Jersey, where he hoped within a few days to meet Rupert. But some say that he was gone towards the Straits, to meet some ships of the merchants of London: but most believe him now at Jersey, whither Sir Edward Herbert, and Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale are gone to meet him. If *Windrum*[2] come at the same time, it will be a joyful sight, as you guess. Without question the King will go with Rupert's ships. But whither, God knows; for I cannot assure you, since many letters say all goes ill in Ireland. Cromwell's money prevails much there, for Wexford was betrayed to him. There be many glad, and some sorry, that Rupert is out. My niece[3] is still of our side constantly, as I desired Mr Leith to write to you. But I assure you there is nothing left undone to hinder your proceedings. I hope God will prosper you in

[1] Original, Wodrow MSS. Folio lxvii. Number 90. Advocates' Library.

[2] Wynram of Libberton, one of the Covenanting Commissioners. See *infra*, p. 406.

[3] The Princess of Orange.

spite of them; which shall ever be the wishes and prayers of your most constant affectionate friend,

E.

The Hagh, this $\frac{1}{2}\frac{9}{9}$th of November [1649.][1]

XLIV. Queen Henrietta Maria to Montrose, 1st December 1649.

Paris, ce 1 *Desem.* 1649.

Mon Cousin,—Jay reseu une de vos lettres dattee de Denmark. Je suis parfaitemant ayse dentandre que vous esttes en condition de servir le Roy mon fils. Croyes quil nia personne qui y prene plus de part que moy, et qui vous soueste plus de bonheur et prosperite, et, outre linterest du Roy, pour le votre propre, auquel je suis atachee, et ne manspareray jamais, quoy quil vous puisse ariver. Jay trop de resentiment des services que vous aves randu au feu Roy mon Seigneur, pour jamais manquer a ce que je vous dis; et je vous conjure de le croyre. Je sais que il y a beaucoup de personne qui ne maime pas qui sont ases prompt de tacher a me separer de mes amis. Je me tiens assuree, que vous nadjouteres point de foy a auenne chose quil vous pouroit faire entandre de moy, mais que vous ores une confianee en moy telle que je merite, et que mes actions vous feront paroistre avec quelle cinserite je suis, Mon Cousin,

Votre bien bonne afectionnee
Cousine et Amie,
Henriette Marie, R.

A Mon Cousin,
le Marquis de Montrose.[2]

[1] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 17. See Preface to this Volume.

[2] Original, Montrose charter-chest, which may be thus translated:—

Paris, 1st December 1649.

Cousin,—I have received one of your letters, dated from Denmark. I am greatly pleased to learn that you are in a condition

XLV. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 9th December 1649.

My Lord,—I have received yours of the fourth of November this last week; and the next day, by Sir William Fleming, one from the King of the same date from Jersey; who assures me he is not changed in his affections nor designs, which he will show to the world very suddenly. *Robert le Diable*[1] is about Scilly with seven good ships. His man Choque was very well received; which made the *squeaker* very sad, and all that tribe there. Harry May was not there, nor the *godly Windrum*. I hope he will find *visage de bois* when he comes. I wish your express quickly here. The King has not heard from you since his being at Jersey. I doubt not but you have seen by this the proclamation against Morton and Kinnoul,[2] and all the adherents of 'that detestable bloody murderer and excommunicated traitor, James Græme.' The Turks never called the Christians so. Yet they are civil to the King in it; for they do it not in his name, and name him but once in it. I think they would not take his name in vain (as they have done God's so often), to show how faithful and dutiful subjects they are to him; which the King has good reason to take well, especially this being done upon Windrum's sending

to be of service to the King my son. Believe me, there is no one more deeply interested than I am, or whose wishes are more for your happiness and success; and that, independently of the King's interests, for the sake of yourself, my attachment to you being such that I can never cast it off, whatever may befall you. I have too grateful a remembrance of the services which you rendered to the late King my husband, ever to fail in these expressions; and this I implore you to believe. That I have many enemies, active in their endeavours to create a breach between me and my friends, I well know. I feel assured, however, that you will place no credit in any such reports regarding me, but give me that share in your confidence which I deserve; and that my conduct will prove to you with what sincerity I am your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

Henrietta Maria, P.

[1] Her son, Prince Rupert.

[2] But by this time, Morton and Kinnoul were both dead in Orkney! See *supra*, p. 396, *note*.

[being sent] to him. There has been many Synods held at Dort and at Rotterdam. Now there is one at Amsterdam, where the *great-tongued Lord* is, and *high nosed*.[1] But my cousin, silly man, keeps here, and knows nothing of all this,—no more than I know that I am ever your most constant affectionate friend,

E.

The Haghe, this 9th of December [1649.][2]

Old Brainford will chide you, that you should mistrust his constancy to you. He says he is now too old to be a knave, having been honest ever.[3] I am confident he is very real. I hope my next shall tell you very good news.

XLVI. Montrose to the Earl of Seaforth, 15th December 1649.

My Lord,—I am sorry I heave not had so many occasions as I wold to express unto you the joy I heave of all your honorable and freindly cariages, concerning both publick and privatt, which I assure your Lordship is no less contentment to your freindes, and satisfaction to all honest men (even thos who know you not), then it is happiness for yourself.[4] I pray God give joy to perseu so vertuos and honorable a tract; and be sure I shall be no longer happy then [when?] I be not thankfull for the nobell obligations I owe you. I am so prest (being to sett sayle to-morrow for Scotland) as I can say littell more; only I must [give] your lordship a thousand thanks for your favours and kindness to your servand Mr James Woode, which I humbly intreat you continue; and I will not

[1] Probably Lauderdale.

[2] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 19. See Preface to this Volume.

[3] The Earl of Brentford died in Dundee, upon the 2d of February 1651.

[4] This mode of addressing Seaforth can only be well understood by those who are aware of his history. Montrose regarded him as a returned prodigal. The letter obviously has been written very hurriedly.

feale, iff I heave a lyfe, to caus returne what you ar pleased to doe to any of your servands. I will say no more, but that I shall live, or dye, my Lord, your Lordships most faithfull cosing and servand,

MONTROSE.

Gottenberry, 15 December 1649.

For my nobell Lord the Earle of Siafort.[1]

I heare our cossing Chartrous hes gone to the King, which has made me not write unto him.

XLVII. DR WISHART TO ARCHIBALD SECOND LORD NAPIER, 1st January 1650.

MY LORD,—I have litle or nothing to writte that is worthie of the pains; excepting only to praise Almightie God, and congratulate with you, these gracious hopes which we are persuaded to consave from your negotiations in these places. O, the God of armies, and giver of victorie, blesse the same to the end. Yet could I not suffer the opportunitie of such a bearer escape me, that I should not at least testifie my good will, and zeale towards your Lordship, at least-wise by this paper visit. Our greate ones, Duke Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermlin, Kalendar, Sinclar, etc., are all at the Hague, and at the præsent so *darned* that we heare but litle of their dinne. It is thought that their new band hade so small acceptance in Scotland, that they almost repent the moving of it. All their præsent hopes are of Wondrum's treatie,[2] and offers to the

[1] Original, Seaforth Papers. Montrose, however, did not go to Orkney until the month of March.

[2] 'Mr George Winrame of Libertone, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, who was sent to Jersey to the King, in November 1649, with letters from the Committee of Estates, came home in a waighter, and arrived at Leith, on Saturday the 2d of February 1650.'—(Balfour's Annals.) See *supra*, p. 402.

King, which they magnifie as verie greate, glorious, and advantageous to his Majestie; seing he may by them gete præsent possession of that whole kingdome, at so easie a rate as the forsaking of *one man;* who, as a *bloodie excommunicated rebele*, is so odious to all men, that the King cannot be so demented, and bewitched, as to præferre him to the præsent enjoyment of the affections and services of a whole nation of most true and loyale subjects. Such are the charms, wherby these old wizzards goe about still to fascinat the world, abroad and at home. And yet the two last named profest as much good will to my Lord Marqvis of Montrose as can be wished; and doe openly sweare and avouche that they hade never anie art or part in that forsaid band.[1] Branford, I beleive, not only would be glaide of employment with his Excellence, but is verie much grieved that he thinks himself slighted and neglected by him. Sir William Fleming came this way from Jarsey, and went straight to Scotland. I pray God all be sound that way. I have not been so happie as to see Mr Aitoune, who hath been this long time in thir Provinces. But I doubt not that he hath given full information of all that he can, to his Excellencie by his own penne. My Colonel hade been upon his journey before now, but that the Prince of Orange tooke him with his Highnes in a progress that he is making towards Guelderland. I know he will make the speediest returne that may be.[2] Newis from Ireland are still so various, uncertaine, and contradictorie, that I neither can, nor darre, command my penne to writte any thing. Last weeke, we hade no letters at all from London; and by the latest we wer enformed that no man living landed in anie place of Ingland, from Ireland, who was not searched to the verie skinne,—cloathis, and shoes, and boots, and all, ript up for letters. Wherby it came to pass, that they hade no more certaintie of affairs from thence, at London, than we have.

[1] Throughout all his loyal career, Montrose found his greatest difficulties to arise from the discreditable conduct of 'seeming friends.' See *supra*, p. 223.

[2] Dr Wishart officiated as chaplain to a Scotch regiment in the service of the States. See *supra*, p. 345, *note*.

The Lorrainer's forces have been this thrie weeks closs upon the skirts and borders of the lands belonging to thir Estats. It's said, that Lamboy is not farre from them with his armie; that Loraine is thanked off by the Spaniard, and takin on by the Emperour; who is thought to have a purpos to demand, of the Estats United, such Emperial tounes as they detaine and possess from him. The Estats do not take the alarme verie hote; only they have sent some troups and companies, to strengthen their garrisons, towards these quarters. Nay, the provinciale Estats of Holland will needs (in spyte of any opposition of the Estates Generall, and his Highnes) cassirre ane 109 companies of foote, all of strange nations, French, Inglish, and Scots; and most part of the cavalrie; and reduce yet more those that remaine. It is thought all this is intended to clippe his Highnes wings; and that they are stirred up to it by the Inglish rebells, who promise them, upon a call, more men then they shall stand in neede off. Certaine it is, that there is straite correspondence, and good intelligence betwixt them. If your Lordship, and noble companie, be in good estate, and will comfort me with the knowlege of the same, I shall at this time demand no more from thence; but fervently praying for the same, shall rest, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and devout Chaplain,

G. Wiseheart.[1]

Shiedame, 1st January 1650.

For my Lord Napier at Hamburg.

[1] Original, Napier charter-chest. Lord Napier had accompanied his uncle to Hamburgh, and was now left behind to conduct the negotiations. See Number LIV. The above interesting and characteristic letter forms an important link in the chain of correspondence by which we have been enabled to illustrate Montrose's position and movements at this sad crisis. The Editor has not happened to meet with any other letter from the accomplished author of the latin Commentaries on Montrose's wars. Dr Wishart had previously suffered much persecution from the Covenanters.

XLVIII. The Queen of Bohemia to Montrose, 7th January 1650.

My Lord,—This bearer's dispatch to you, by honest old Brainford, gives me occasion to write to you. You will find by his letters what he desires. I assure you he is still very fast to you. I must tell you what I hear by my Lord ——'s letter, who is now at Nimguen with the Prince of Orange, that Count Henry of Nassau is come hither from Denmark, and doth much lessen your proceedings there, saying that you have no men nor ships, nor free quarter in Denmark nor Holstein, nor at Hamburgh any, but only some few officers. I hope he doth it out of policy, to do your business, that the Scots may be surprised by you. But when I see him I will know what he saith. The King my nephew is yet at Jersey. As soon as Harry Seymour returns from Ireland, he will be gone either to Ireland, or, if it be not fit for him, to your parts. This I am told. As for Ireland, they tell so many lies as I dare believe nothing. Since Rupert was at Cape St Vincent, on the coast of Portugal, I have not heard from him. But upon those four ships he has taken, and others by the French, there be many merchants of London bankrupts, as I am informed. Colonels Banfield and Penrudoch are both prisoners in the Tower. Upon their taking, my Lady Carlisle is close prisoner again. Penrudoch, they say, has been racked. All Banfield's letters and cyphers are taken. My Cousin here begins to speak very favourably of you; which is a sign you are not in an ill condition. I pray God send you better; and safety in Scotland. Believe me ever your most constant affectionate friend,

Elizabeth.

The Hagh, this 7th of January [1650.]

I write so, I fear you cannot well read this letter; but I write it in haste.[1]

[1] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 21. See Preface to this Volume. This is the last of the series that has been preserved of these interesting letters. The

XLIX. King Charles II. to Montrose, 12-22d January 1650.

My Lord of Montrose,—My publique letter having exprest all that I have of busines to say to you, I shall only add a word by this, to assure you that I will never fayle in the effects of that freendship I have promised, and which your zeal to my service hath soe eminently deserved; and that noething that can happen to me shall make me consent to any thing to your prejudice. I conjure you, therefore, not to *take alarme* at any reports or messages from others; but to depend upon my kindnes, *and to proceed in your busines with your usuall courage and alacrity*; which I am sure will bring great advantage to my affaires, and much honour to yourselfe. I wish you all good successe in it, and shall ever remain, your affectionate friend,

Charles R.

Jersey, the $\frac{22}{12}$ January 1649 [50.][1]

latest Memoirs of the Queen of Bohemia contain no notice of them, and they have generally escaped observation. Probably the above is the last letter which Montrose received from her. The foreboding prayer for his 'safety in Scotland' is striking. Four months from its date his severed limbs decorated the cities of his native country. But many a tear for him would be shed by 'the Queen of hearts.'

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest.

This, and the public letter, contain the last instructions which Montrose could have received from his Sovereign; and it is important to observe that the King still urges him on to his fate. With these letters there came to Montrose the George and garter, which he had with him on his last fatal field, but was constrained to cast away, in the attempt to save his life. The original royal grant of the order, dated Jersey, 12th January 1649-50 (the same date as the above letter), is still preserved in the archives of his house. And what is more remarkable, the decoration itself, which was found by his enemies hidden under a tree, has found its way there also. See next Number for the public letter to which the above refers.

My Lord of Montrose my publique letter having exprest all that I haue of buisnes to say to you I shall only add a word by this to assure you that I will never fayle in the effects of that friendship I haue promised you and wch your zeale to my service hath soe eminently deserued, and that nothing that can happen to me shall make me -- consent to any thing to your preiudice. I coniure you therefore not to take alarme at any reports or messages from others but to depend vpon my kindnes, and to proceed in your buisnes wth your vsuall courage and alacrity. wch I am sure will bring great aduantage to my affaires and much honour to yourselfe. I wish you all good successe in it and shall euer remayne

Your affectionate friend

Charles R

Jersey the $\frac{22}{12}$ of Ianua
1649.

L. King Charles II. to Montrose.

Charles R.—Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, Wee greete you well. An Addresse having been lately made to us from Scotland, by a letter (whereof wee send you the copie herewith) wherein they desire that wee should acknowledge their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of it, and thereupon offer to send a solemne Addresse to us for a full agreement, Wee have, in answer thereunto, returned our Letters to them (a copie whereof wee likewise send you here inclosed), by which wee have appointed a speedy time and place for their Commissioners to attend us: And, to the end you may not apprehend that wee intend, either by any thing contained in those letters, or by the Treaty wee expect, to give *the least impediment to your proceedings*, wee think fitt to lett you know, that, as wee conceave that your preparations have been one effectuall motive that hath induced them to make the said Addresse to us, soe your *vigorous proceeding* will be a good meanes to bring them to such moderation in the said Treaty as probably may produce an agreement, and a present union of that whole nation in our service. Wee assure you, therefore, that wee will not, before or during the Treaty, doe any thing contrary to that power and authority which wee have given you by our Commission, or consent to any thing that may bring *the least degree of diminution to it*. And if the said Treaty should produce an agreement, wee will, with our uttermost care, soe provide for the honor and interest of yourself, and of all that shall engage with you, as shall lett the whole world see the high esteeme wee have of you, and our full confidence in that eminent courage, conduct, and loyalty, which you have always expressed to the King our late deare Father of blessed memory, and to us, both by your actions and sufferings for our cause. In the meane time wee think fit to declare to you, that wee have called them a *Committee of Estates*, only in order to a Treaty, and for no other end whatsoever. And if the Treaty doe not produce an agreement, as wee are already assured that the calling of

them a Committee of Estates, in the direction of a letter, doth neither acknowledge them to be *legally* soe, nor make them such, soe wee shall immediatly declare to all our subjects of Scotland what wee hold them to be, notwithstanding any appellation wee now give them; thereby to satisfy them, and the whole world, that wee desire to reduce our subjects of that kingdom to their due obedience to us, by our just and honorable condiscentions, and by all endeavours of kindnesse and favour on our part, rather then by warr and hostility, if their unreasonable demands doe not necessitate us to that as to the only way and remedy left us. Wee require and authorize you, therefore, *to proceed vigorously and effectually* in your undertaking; and to act in all things in order to it, as you shall judge most necessary for the support thereof, and for our service in that way; wherein, wee doubt not, but all our loyall and well affected subjects of Scotland will cordially and effectually joyne with you; and by that addition of strength, either dispose those that are otherwise minded to make reasonable demands to us in the Treaty, or be able to force them to it by armes, in case of their obstinate refusall. To which end wee authorize you to communicate and publish this our letter to all such persons as you shall think fitt.

To our right trusty and right entirely beloved
Cousin James Marquis of Montrose.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. Sir Walter Scott, in his History of Scotland, when recording the last expedition of Montrose, calls him 'that intrepid but rash enthusiast.' But when the whole progress of events is considered, the false and ruinous position from which if possible the King and the Monarchy were to be redeemed, Montrose's admirable state-papers, his accredited negotiations with foreign States, his correspondence with crowned heads, and members of the Royal family, the secret pressure upon him from all quarters, and in particular, the distinct and peremptory written commands of his own Sovereign, earnestly repeated up to the last moment of their correspondence,—when all this is duly considered, we are constrained to regard the careless phrase, with which Sir Walter has characterized him for the occasion, as being neither true to history, nor just to Montrose.

My Lord

I could not let this gentillman Harry May go to you without writing to you, this berer will giue you a very good accompt of all the newse and of all the businesse that is here, and he will assure you how much I euer am your

Lordships

most affectionat freind

James

Jersay: Jan: 16/26
1650

LI. The Duke of York to Montrose, 16-26th January 1650.

My Lord,—I would not let this gentleman Hary May go to you without writing to you. This bearer will give you a very good account of news, and of all the business that is here; and he will assure you how much I ever am your Lordship's most affectionate friend,

James.

Jersey, January $\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{6}$, 1650.[1]

LII. Thomas Ogilvy to Montrose.

My Lord,—In my last letter to your Lordship I forgott to schew your Lordship concerning my Lord Marschell and Lavetenent Generall Midletoun, who treulie (if faith and treuth be in men) ar verie loyall to his Majesties service, and that without any interest, as they profes themselfis, aither of *Hamiltoun* or *Argathelaine* factiouns; or any other whatsumever; but meirlie what concernes his Majesties hapines and service. Whairfoir let me humblie beg at your Lordships hands, that your Lordship will be pleasit to intreat them both fairlie and kyndlie to adhear to their loyall opinionis. This will conduce muche for your Lordships interest and advantage. Your Lordship knowes quhow saif and fitting ane garrisone Dunnotter is, for kepeing of amonitions and artelzerie. And belive me, if your Lordship desyre this fairlie and kyndlie, you will gett it. And for Middletoun, he is so far considerable, that if your Lordship will be pleasit to mak use of him, which indeed ye will find him

[1] Berkeley's Literary Relics, p. 5. See Preface to this Volume. This 'Hary May' must have been the bearer of the King's letter, along with the order of the garter. It is interesting to find the future Monarch, James II., whose own desperate fortunes ronsed the daring, and immortalized the memory of the great Dundee, thus in correspondence with his champion's yet greater prototype.

'The Gordon has asked of him, whither he goes?
'Wheresoever shall lead me, the soul of *Montrose?*'

willing enough to accept it, he can taik of the most part of all their hors to goe along with him, any way that he pleases to command them, bot *cheiflie in the Kingis service*.[1] My Lord, your Lordship will pardoune me to be a lyttell free. For my earnest wishes for the weill of his Majesties service, and my best respectis to your Lordship selff, ar past all compliment. Your Lordship hes beine pleasit to give sum commissions which treulie hes beine verie detastable to verie loyall men, and hes proved hielie disadventagious to the advancement of your Lordship's intentionis. The particulars I will refer to meiting with your Lordship; which treulie your Lordship will find too too clear. My Lord, since my cumeing to Orknay, lykwayes, I am sorie to sie authoritie and commissionis to be put in sum younge handes who treulie hes not witt to govern themselffis, lett alone to advance the weill of his Majesties service. And indead, if this Lord Kynnoull[2] haid not cum tymouslie over with that last recreut, thair follie haid brock the verie small beginningis of his Majesties service. If your Lordship sall stay any tyme from us (which God forbid you sould), either send over sum man to command in cheiffe, or els send commissione to my Lord Kynnoull to doe it heir, and that all that ar heir shall not presum bot to obey him. Els treulie your Lordship will fynd ane evill managit busines heir. My Lord, I will be verie

[1] But had General Middleton a better excuse for *loyalty*, or for joining Montrose with his forces at this time, than at the period when, at the head of a covenanting army, he opposed the Marquis in the North, after the battle of Philiphaugh? If those *loyalists*, Huntly, Seaforth, Middleton, and Marischal, had supported the Standard of the Royal Lieutenant at that crisis, in all human probability the Monarchy would not have fallen, or the King have been murdered. The devoted and sacrificed champion of the Throne was continually obtaining the moral victory of the eventual but useless adherence of those who had previously opposed him in arms. Middleton was the General with whom Montrose transacted his capitulation before quitting Scotland in 1646. See *supra*, p. 271.

[2] The context of this letter, compared with that from Lord Kinnoul, *supra*, p. 394, seems to prove that the nobleman above referred to was Mr Hay, who had recently come to Orkney after the death of his brother there, and was now Lord Kinnoul; consequently, that the latter had died (as stated in the note to Number XXXVIII.) previous to March 1650.

loath to be ane speetator to any thing that may prejudice the Kingis serviee, and introath my affeetione to the weill of it hes maid me thus free with your Lordship at this tyme. I shall never faill to approve myself as ever [*torn off*] the Kingis interest [and] to your Lordships selff in partieular, to death. Your Lordship's obedient and faithfull servant to serve you,

THOMAS OGILVY.

Kirkwall, 3 March 1650.[1]

LIII. MONTROSE TO THE EARL OF SEAFORTH, 26th March 1650.

MY LORD,—I receaved your Lordship's by Mr May, who has confirmed me in the knowledge of all your nobell and freindly eariages, for which beleave I will serve you with my lyfe, all the dayes it shall please God to len me it. I am goeing to the maine-land, and hes no more leasure bot to assure you I shall tender your freindes, and interests, as my oune lyfe; and still live, or dye, my lord, your eossen and faithfull freind and servand,

MONTROSE.

Kirkwall in Orknay, 26 Mareh 1650.

For the Earle of Siafort.[2]

[1] Original, Wodrow MSS., Folio lxvii., Number 94. The Editor has not been able to discover which of the ever loyal clan of Ogilvy is the writer of the above letter. Sir Thomas Ogilvy, son to the Earl of Airly, was killed at Inverlochy.

[2] Original, Seaforth Papers. See *supra*, p. 401. The Editor has not found any letter from Montrose of later date. It would be interesting to know that the last he ever wrote was this one, of such earnest and grateful affection to the very nobleman whose signature he had *compelled* to the Bond of loyal union that was signalized by the vietory at Inverlochy; and for which adherence that nobleman soon thereafter excused himself to the Government of Argyle, upon the plea that his signature had

LIV. King Charles II. to Archibald second Lord Napier, 15th April 1650.

My Lord Neper,—As I have ever beene confident of your great affection to my service, soe I am much confirmed in the opinion of it, by the letter I lately receyved from you. I pray continew your assistances to the Marques of Montrose; which your being with him will much the more enable you to doe. And therefore I am well pleased with your repayre to him; and very sensible of your good endeavours for my service, which I shall ever acknowledge as your very affectionate friend,

Charles R.

Breda, the 15th of Aprill 1650.

For the Lord Neper.[1]

been *extorted*. See *supra*, p. 174. The very device with which this letter was sealed might convey a reproof to such loyalists as Seaforth. The Lion of England seems crouching on the pinnacle of a precipice, and about to spring across a yawning gulph to another rock beyond. The significant motto is, *Nil Medium*. This device Montrose also adopted for one of his standards.

[1] Original, Napier charter-chest. From this letter it appears that Lord Napier, whom Montrose left behind him at Hamburgh, had been anxious to join his uncle on the desperate expedition to Scotland. No doubt the Marquis, whose letters of the period evince a perfect consciousness that his own life was cast in that wild adventure, had desired to save him to whom he was now as a father. But Napier had taken the step of writing to the King for leave to join; and he had obtained it in the flattering terms of the above letter. Ere the young nobleman could act upon that permission, Montrose was a prisoner, and in the hands of savages.

APPENDIX TO PART VI.

Sir John Cochran to Montrose, 3d December 1649.

My Most Noble Lord,—My elevint from Riga, by Leuftenant Colonel Scott, I hope is come to your Excellency's hands. I arryved at Riga upon the 28th September. Within three dayes after, I sent to the Duke of Courland, but could gett no intelligence where he wes; so I wes constrained to stay at Mytaw (his cheif residence house) till I understood something of his dyett. Upon the twentie-fourt of October, the Duke arryved. Upon the twentie fyft I wes brought to the Castle, where I made my propositions. I found the Duke verie constant in his affection, but most miserablie covetous, so that I gott ane absolute denyall to my first propositions. Yett I earnestlie urged for a better answere. I gott the Duchesse, and most of his Councell, upon my syde; and pairtlie with threatts, pairtlie with faire words, I wrested out of him a more favourable answere; to witt, six warre shipps; one of six and thirtie gunns, another of two and thirtie, one of four and twentie, one of twentie, and two of fourteene gunns; with three months provision for everie one of them. Thrie of them are instantlie to be delivered att Amsterdam; to witt, that of six and thirtie, that of four and twentie, and one of fourteene gunns. The other thrie are yett upon the stocks, to be perfytted again the Spring, and delivered at Windaw in Courland. The order for the receipt of the first thrie I send your Excellencie by the bearer, Leuftenant-Colonell Jones, together with a full power from me for them who shall be employed to receive them. I dealt with the Duke that your Excellencies name might have been inserted in the order; but he is so timorous a Prince, and so unnecessarlie appre-

hensive of future inconveniences, that he could not be perswaded to condescend it; pretending that your Excellencies name would make the busines too publick, and the knowledge he had of me affordit him a confidence that the busines might be transacted with all possible quyetnes. Wherfore I entreatt your Excellencie to give order to them whom you shal be pleased to imploy for the reception of the shipps, that the busines may be expeded with as litle noyse as may be; least otherwyse it might prejudge us in that which is afterward to be received from the Duke. I have engaged myself to him for the carriage of this busines to his content. The Marchant who is to deliver the shipps knows nothing but that I have bought them from the Duke. This is all could be effectuatted with the Duke att this tyme. Corns are [so] scarse that their wes no possibilitie to obtaine any: onlie, he who delivers the shipps will with them deliver thrie months provision for the maintenance of the people necessarie for the shipps. I would have had the quantitie therof determined, but the Duke wes unwilling to doe so. He said his factor would punctuallie fullfill his orders, so that I believe the deliverance wil be made to your Excellencies content. Lykewyse the Duke desyres that his armes be takin from the shipps. They are to be delivered with cannon, provision of victualls and warre, for thrie months service, with saills, cordages, ancres, cables, and all appurtenances. The Duke esteems the six shipps att the rate of a hundreth thousand Reichsthallers. For money their wes no hopes of any from him. Your Excellencie may beleve I never pursued a busines with greatter earnestnes. I borrowed fyve hundreth Reichsthallers att Riga and Mytaw, which I gave to some of the Duke's councell and servants. I should not have known how to come from thence if it had not been for two gentlemen who were desyrous to come alongs with me upon their owin charges. I borrowed so much from them as made my expences upon the way. God knowes I cannot tell what will come of me heir. Their is extreme greatt dearth and scarsitie in the cuntrie. If the Marchants heir doe any thing, certainlie it will not be worth the naming. For any thing I can perceive as yett, the most of them are as badd as ever they were. I shall shift the best I may. Lawrence Grahame, to whom your Excellencie recommenditt me, will not advance a farthing upon your letter. Certainlie their is a greatt defect, either in his affection, or habilitie, or both. I am much jealous of his affection, and that for some expressions he used concerning the King's affaires. Particularlie he said (as it were in a regraitting manner) that if your Excellencie did goe for Scotland, the wholl kingdome would joyne against you. If I had had opportunitie, before now I would have represented to your Excellencie what orders I have from

France by Leuftenant Colonell Jones. Now att my arryvall heir, I find dyvers letters from Jersey, all to the same purpose. The King's own letters ordains me to transmitt to your Excellencie all that I can procure in my negotiations heir or elswhere. The Secretaries letters (which he sayes he wrytts at the King's command) enjoyns me to send the one half of my purchase to the King and the other half to your Excellencie. This does not puzzle me att all; for I am resolved to follow the King's order, which endeid is most conforme to the dictate of my owin mynd. But I judged expedient to give your Excellencie notice heirof, that accordinglie your busines may be prosequitted att Court. I perceive lykwyse, be my Lord Hoptons and the Secretaries letters, that Mr Crofte is upon his way, sent be the King to the King of Poland. They wrytt to me that he is to act nothing but by me, and that his dispatch wes upon occasion of a letter wrytten be the King of Poland to our Queene, wherin he offers to assist the King with four thousand men. I wonder to what purpose they would be at the charges to send another to prosequit a busines committed to me be my Instructiones; unless it be they intend to avert those assistances from your Excellencie, and to sett Court Generall's over our Armes again, to lead them and us to utter destruction. But the truth is, I believe neither Crofts nor I shall effectuatt much att the Court of Poland, seing their is no appeirance but of dissorder and confusion. Yet Crofts may presume upon the old acquaintance he hes had with the Queene of Poland. But if he presse much upon that score, he may well chance to carrie from hence some Polnish tockens. I am this day to demand audience of this Toun; and, as there may be occasion, shall duelie represent to your Excellencie what occurrs. I remaine ever, my most Noble Lord, your Excellencies most humble ever obleiged servant,

JO: COCHERAN.

Dantzick, the 3 December 1649, *new stile*.

They wrytt to me from Jersey that my Lord Brainford hes left the King, and come to his Ladie in Holland, that they doe not think to sie him with the King any more.

I beseech your Excellencie to lett me understand with all possible speid your pleasure concerning my concurrence with Crofte. My humble opinion is, that I ought in reason to refuse it, seing it encroaches much upon the King's and your interests. If it be so, as they wrytt, that he hes no other Commission but to treatt for four thousand men, I would think the King and his Councell had no

greatt reason to entrust one with the prosequition of that busines who hes no understanding of militarie affaires. Your Excellencie may be assured, if it should fall out so that there be any treattie about it, Cavalliers heir would be much astonished to sie the negotiation of such a treattie entrusted to a courtisan having no intelligence of militarie affaires; and consequentlie must neids reflect much upon the King's and your interests; and may endeid proove the frustratting of all our hopes. I humblie entreatt your Excellencie to lett me know your will, in this particular, by a letter both by sea and land, that it may come speedilie to my hands. I rest as above.

I beleive Leuftenant Colonell Jones hes had of a trustie servant of your Excellencies, Mr John Moleson, fiftie Reichsthallers for his journey.[1]

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. See *supra*, p. 392. This is the same Colonel Cochrane whose depositions relating to the so-called *Plot*, in 1641, with a note regarding his genealogy, will be found in the first volume of these Memorials, pp. 302—306. As there stated, he was the elder brother of the first Earl of Dundonald. Like his patron Montrose, he had originally served the Covenant. Principal Baillie, in a letter to Spang, dated 10th May 1642, greatly laments his fall; but the covenanting scandal against his honesty is sufficiently contradicted by the manner in which he was immediately trusted by Charles I. and Montrose. In a volume of curious historical fragments, edited from the manuscripts in the Advocates' Library by Mr Maidment, 1832, will be found 'Sir John Cochrane's Relations of the particulars that have occurred in his negotiations since his coming to Hamburg,' 1649. This is the paper referred to by Charles I., in his letter to Montrose, *supra*, p. 392. Having been sent to the King, who transmitted it to Montrose, with instructions, it fell into the hands of the Covenanters, with other of Montrose's private papers, at the time of his own capture. Some of the loyal chroniclers accuse Cochrane of treachery to Montrose. If so, it must have been *subsequent* to the date of the above letter, which is hardly credible.

PART VII.

The preceding documents illustrate this sad history down to the middle of April 1650. By that time Montrose was in Scotland, on the verge of destruction. He had landed in Orkney some time during the previous month of March. The Earls of Morton and Kinnoul had there eagerly hailed his advent, unconscious of their own approaching fate. We have seen that when Montrose arrived to join them, both were in their graves. Nor was this the only misfortune that might have paralyzed even his devoted energies. He had sent before him two ships, laden with troops, arms, and ammunition, the hard won fruits of his foreign negotiation. These encountered a storm, and all perished. Thus, on reaching Orkney, he found himself deprived, by unforeseen accidents, of two noble and valuable coadjutors, and the most important of his military resources. Such was the ominous state of his fortunes while at Kirkwall organizing what remained. Yet his note to Lord Seaforth, dated from thence on the 25th of March 1650, indicates no irresolution or depression of spirits. Early in April he effected his landing in Caithness. Upon the 27th of that month his slender and desultory array was surprised and overwhelmed, and himself a fugitive for his life. Upon the 4th of May 1650, he was in the power of those who thirsted for his blood. A fortnight thereafter his head was upon the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, his mangled limbs dispersed over the king-

dom, and his heart, embalmed and enshrined in a gold box, in the secret possession of his horror-stricken niece, Lady Napier. The details of the closing scene will be found more fully and accurately narrated in the first Number of this concluding Part, than in any other account that has yet appeared; all but the story of the heart, a strange romance of real life, so secretly accomplished as nearly to have escaped a contemporary record.

The following account of the capture and death of Montrose, is from a manuscript chronicle compiled by the Reverend James Fraser, a clergyman attached to the family of Lovat. He tells us, that for thirty years his grandfather was 'major domo' to Simon eighth Lord Lovat, who died in 1633. Thus the grandson became chaplain to that nobleman's successor. Eventually he was Episcopal clergyman at Wardlaw, in Inverness-shire, and so continued until 1715 when he must have attained a great age. The period of his life embraces the careers both of Montrose and Dundee. By some sad perversity and misguidance the gallant clan Fraser had been generally opposed in arms, along with Seaforth and the Mackenzies, to the loyal exertions of Montrose in the North. Hence their chaplain was not necessarily predisposed in favour of the hero. But he came into contact with him at a time when every honest heart and Christian feeling must have revolted at the conduct of his captors. The history left in manuscript by this clergyman occupies a large folio volume very closely written. It professes to be a chronicle of the house of his chief and patron. But the writer is one of those ardent domestic historians who think that their subject may sustain the graft of a history of the world. In many respects, however, the record is curious and valuable. It was sold some years ago in Inverness, along with other effects of the late Mr Fraser of

Torbrek, a descendant of the author. The purchaser, Mr John Thomson of Liverpool, most obligingly transmitted it to the Editor, who was not aware of its existence when writing the life of Montrose. The Reverend chronicler culls from all the contemporary writers; but he sometimes enlarges or modifies the previous records, from more direct sources of information; and he has added many interesting particulars, from his own personal knowledge, that are to be met with nowhere else. His minute description of Montrose's condition, demeanour, and treatment, when dragged from the place of his capture to Edinburgh, is very graphic. The reader cannot fail to recognize a perfect portrait, done on the spot by a most characteristic artist. It was hitherto quite unknown. Like every fresh acquisition on the subject, this narrative tends to elevate the character of Montrose, and to justify the highest estimate of his calm and Christian heroism.

Moreover the Fraser manuscript alone has recorded a fact which derives some importance from a recent fancy of Lord Mahon's, who supposes that the dying speech of Montrose, or what has passed for such during two centuries from the time of his death, was in reality manufactured by the loyalists in Scotland, when the hero was no more![1]

[1] In his review of the Editor's Life of Montrose (see *supra*, p. 24), Lord Mahon quotes, from the Life, the following passage in the now lost Diary of Trail:—

'But he (Montrose) did not at all desire to be released from excommunication in the name of the Kirk,—yea, *did not look towards that place in the scaffold where we stood;* only, he *drew apart* some of the Magistrates, and *spake a while with them,* and *then* went up the ladder in his red scarlet cassock, in a very stately manner, *and never spoke a word;* but when the executioner was putting the cord about his neck, he looked down to the people upon the scaffold, and asked, "How long shall I hang here?" When my colleague and I saw him casten over the ladder, we returned to the Commission, and related the matter as it was.'

Upon this Lord Mahon, oddly enough, comments as follows:—

'It is remarkable that Mr Napier, who inserts this passage from Mr Trail's Diary,

Wild as this theory is, and conceived in a spirit of rash yet confident criticism that would render the best historical evidence nugatory, the controversial opinion of this noble and gifted author, as well as the *Cathedra* of its announcement, are much too imposing and influential not to demand a deliberate rectification. We cannot suffer the genius of Montrose to be thus deprived of the last and greatest of its productions, by a mere crudity from an accomplished critic.

The idea, in the first place, proceeds upon a curious mistake in point of fact. Lord Mahon asserts, that the Covenanting clergyman, Trail, whom the Kirk deputed to attend the execution, and who, he adds, 'was standing close by' Montrose on the scaffold, reported that he went through the last scene in silence. The noble reviewer's knowledge of Trail's report is derived from the work reviewed; and yet the extract which he there found, had not even been attentively perused. Trail states, in the very passage quoted by Lord Mahon, that he stood, with his clerical coadjutors, *apart* from Montrose, who would not even *look*

also inserts (without in either case expressing any doubt) an "admirable speech," addressed by Montrose to those around him on the scaffold, as "taken in shorthand by one appointed for that purpose, and as circulated at the time." Surely Mr Napier must have overlooked the phrase in Mr Trail's account, that "Montrose never spoke a word." This witness was *standing close by*, and could have no imaginable motive for suppressing in his private diary the fact that Montrose had made a speech. On the other hand, there is an evident reason why the *Royalist party in Edinburgh should devise* and circulate some last words of the hero as honourable and advantageous to their cause; and accordingly, on examining the speech itself, several expressions appear drawn up with that view; as when Montrose is made to say,—"For his Majesty now living, never people, I believe, might be more happy in a King. His commands to me were most just. In nothing that he promiseth will he fail." This speech, if publicly circulated at the time by the Royalists (perhaps in a broadside or printed sheet), might be, *without further inquiry*, admitted by Sir James Balfour into his notes.' (See 'Mahon's Historical Essays,' p. 190.)

their way. He says, moreover, that their victim took the Magistrates apart, and '*spake awhile with them.*' True, it is added that he went up the ladder, which was thirty feet high, 'in a very stately manner, and never spoke a word.' But the context proves, distinctly, that this means from, or while ascending, the ladder. Probably the rejected emissaries of the Kirk had expected some address from that fearful elevation, or some hesitation or remonstrance in ascending it. But Montrose had already declared, 'I have no more to say,' and he kept his word. At the summit he uttered a single sentence, indicating the perfect composure of his mind, and which the executioner, to whom alone it was addressed, had reported,—'How long shall I hang here?' He had no desire to address the mob. His last words were intended by him for the country at large, for Europe, and for posterity. Well he knew that any attempt on his part to encourage a demonstration of the smothered sympathies of the populace, who were sadly gazing at that cowardly murder, would be met by the roll of the drum. But it was nothing to him. Nor did the Covenanting Government care how public his speech became, provided they had his life. The contemporary chroniclers all agree in this, that he was permitted to have a secretary on the scaffold, skilled in short-hand, to take down what he said, in his oft interrupted address[1] to the Magistrates. Lord Mahon entirely overlooks this evidence. Is it possible, under these circumstances, that nothing should have ever transpired of what Montrose actually said; while a spurious production of his friends, circulated after his death, was allowed to be in possession of the public without contradiction from his enemies? Moreover, Sir James Balfour, a close observer of the tragedy, and one who had never favoured

[1] Monteith, in his History of the Troubles, says that Montrose had written his speech; and that some copies were thrown over the scaffold. This is not improbable.

Montrose, though latterly himself opposed to the democratic movement, inserted an imperfect version of the speech, as Montrose's defence on the scaffold, in his private journal of that very date. It was recorded by Nicholl, in his diary of that day. It was published in London, in a pamphlet containing an account of the execution, *immediately* after the event.[1] In 1652 it was reprinted in *Montrose Redivivus*. Since the hour of his death it has never been questioned except by Lord Mahon in 1846. And such is the evidence utterly disregarded by the noble critic, while depriving the hero of what he had bequeathed to posterity as the last breathings of his magnanimous spirit. We have now to add the evidence of the Reverend James Fraser. He alone seems to have preserved *the name* of the secretary who took down, by appointment, the dying words of Montrose. He calls him 'Mr Robert Gordon, son to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, *from whom I got the same, thus;*' and on the margin of the MS. he designs him, 'Robert Gordon, Cluny, *my Cammarad.*' His version essentially agrees with all the other contemporary versions; and the whole context is perfectly consistent with Montrose's position, both as regards his commissions and private instructions from Charles II., and the calumnies of his enemies at the time.

It remains to notice a circumstance deeply affecting the character of Charles II., and of Argyle as well as his Covenanting coadjutors. On the fourth day *after* Montrose's execution, the following scene occurred in Argyle's parliament, as noted at the time by the Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour. 'Saturday, 25th May. A letter from the King's

[1] This scarce pamphlet is now before the Editor. It is entitled, 'A true and perfect Relation of the most remarkable passages and speeches at, and before, the death of his Excellence James Marques of Montrose, &c. Faithfully colected by an eye-witnes, in Edenburgh, as they happened upon the 18. 20. and 21. of May 1650. Anno M.D.C.L.' The last speech, as there printed, is the same as Fraser's version.

Majesty to the Parliament, dated from Breda, 12th May 1650, showing he was *heartily sorry that James Graham had invaded this kingdom, and how he had discharged him from doing the same:* and earnestly desires the Estates of Parliament to do himself that *justice* as not to believe that he was accessory to the said invasion *in the least degree,*—read. Also a double of his Majesty's letter to James Graham, *date 15th May* 1650, commanding him to lay down arms, and secure all the ammunition under his charge,—read in the House. The *Marquis of Argyle* reported to the House, that himself had a letter from the Secretary, the *Earl of Lothian,* which showed him that his Majesty was *no ways sorry* that James Graham was defeated, in respect, as he said, he had made that invasion *without and contrary to his command.*' (Annals, iv. 24.)

It happens, however, that the dispatches sent at this time to Montrose from Breda, and carried by his relative Sir William Fleming, who was also the bearer of communications to and from the Scotch Parliament, have been recently brought to light, and are now printed under the title of the Wigton Papers.[1] The documents printed in the foregoing Part prove, that up to the month of May 1650, the King's *urgent* instructions to Montrose had been, *to go on vigorously* in the plan of an armed descent upon Scotland. Among the Wigton Papers, however, of the dates 13th and 15th of May, are his Majesty's private and public letters to the Marquis, telling him to lay down arms, in consequence of the state of the treaty. But those letters at the same time express the greatest anxiety for the safety, honour, and comfort of Montrose, and the most perfect approbation of his conduct. *Before those letters were written* Montrose was in the hands of his enemies, and on his way

[1] Printed for the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, under the able editorship of Mr Dennistoun. See his Preface to the Wigton Papers.

to the scaffold. It would even appear that he was dead before they reached Scotland; for Sir William Fleming's pass from Breda is dated 20th of May, the day before the execution. This, too, must be particularly noted, that the letters of the 13th and 15th *were not the King's final instructions.* Dated so late as the 19th there is another letter from Charles II. to Montrose, telling him to take his instructions from Fleming. This, and the Instructions, are also printed with the other Wigton papers. They bear date 19th May 1650, the day before the date of Fleming's pass; and in them occurs this important instruction. '*You shall see if Montrose have a considerable number of men, and if he have, you must use your best endeavour to get them not to be disbanded:*' and further, '*In case my friends in Scotland do not think fit that Montrose lay down arms, that then as many as can may repair to him.*' As these Instructions are dated only *two days* before the murder of the Marquis, it is absolutely demonstrated that he cannot have disobeyed any commands of the King to lay down arms. Nor is it credible, that, after having sent off such dispatches, Charles could have been so insanely dishonest as either to have written himself, or to have authorized Lothian to write, to Argyle, that falsehood which the latter *verbally reported* to the Parliament on the 25th of May.[1] Montrose was betrayed into the hands of his enemies about the beginning of that month; the King knew nothing of his defeat until after the 19th; and, it would appear, he was not informed of it till the time when he heard of his execution, which occurred on the 21st. Is it possible that he would immediately authorize Lothian to report to Argyle's Parliament 'That his Majesty

[1] The letter from the King, of date 12th May 1650, which Balfour notes as having been read in Parliament on the 25th, nowhere appears. The report of it cannot be accurate. For even on the 19th, the King was ignorant of Montrose's condition.

was no ways sorry that James Graham was defeated, in respect, as he said, he had made that invasion *without and contrary to his command*,' —the King knowing that no such command *could ever have reached Montrose;* and that his *latest* order, dispatched to Scotland the day before his execution, was *not to disband*, except from absolute necessity? But whoever is answerable for that mean falsehood, which the Marquis could no longer contradict, certain it is that the hero's dying words, to the Parliament, were most true,—'My coming in at this time was by his Majesty's commands, in order to the accelerating the treaty betwixt him and you, his Majesty knowing that whenever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his call.'

There can be no doubt, however, that it was a dastardly trick of Argyle's, to deceive the people, and excuse the murder. The public Declarations of his Majesty's Lieutenant, which he never failed to issue upon every exercise of his commissions, had proclaimed them to all the world. But he knew that his mendacious enemies laboured to create an impression that he was but a turbulent adventurer, without any credentials from his Sovereign. Hence his anxiety on the subject, both before the Parliament and upon the scaffold. The crudeness of Lord Mahon's fancy, as to the last speech, is particularly evinced by this, that he quotes a passage from it, to disprove its authenticity, which in reality affords the strongest verification :—'For his Majesty now living, never People, I believe, might be more happy in a King. His commands to me were most just. In nothing that he promiseth will he fail.' But the noble critic had overlooked a letter, from Argyle to Lothian (quoted in the very work he was reviewing, p. 496), written on the day after the execution, wherein he distinctly points at *that very sentence*, as having been uttered by Montrose on the scaffold. Argyle wished to

create a false impression in the mind of the King, that Montrose had been only prevented by *a warning*, from animadverting upon his Majesty. So, on the 22d of May, he thus writes from Edinburgh, to the Earl of Lothian, who was with the King at the time:—

'My Nobil Lord,—I am much in your Lordship's debt, for I had many long letters from your Lordship without returne, and yet I hope your Lordship will censure me favourablie if I make not amends at this tym; for wee faill not in our ordinar way of long sitting, and it being now leat, I confess I am wearie; for all last night my wyfe was crying; who, blessed be God, is saiflie brocht to bed of a dochter, whois birth-day is remarkable in the tragick end of James Grahame at this cros. *He was warned* to be spairing in speaking to the King's disadvantage, *or els he had donne it.* For, befor the Parliament, in his own justification, he said he had severall commissions from the King for all he did; yea, he had particular orders, and *that leatly*, for cuming to the mainland of Scotland. He got sum resolution, after he cam here, how to go out of this world; but nothing at all how to enter into ane other; not so muche as once humbling himself to pray at all on the scaffold; nor *saying any thing on it that he had not repeated many tyms before*, when the ministers were with him.'[1]

This evidence, from Argyle himself, that Montrose had spoken on the scaffold, will surely satisfy Lord Mahon.

Another passage of his dying defence ought to be inscribed on his tomb:—'What my carriage was in this country, many of you bear witness. Disorders in an army cannot be prevented. But they were no sooner known than prevented. *Never was any blood spilt but in battle.* And even then, many thousand lives have I preserved.' With this eloquent truth did the high-minded and emphatically humane Montrose

[1] This mean letter, which clearly identifies Argyle with the atrocious proceedings against Montrose,—an imputation out of which he attempted to shuffle at the time of his own trial,—was printed from the original in the Lothian archives, by Mr Sharpe, in his edition of Kirkton. It distinctly proves that Montrose spoke, and was expected to speak.

meet that convenient calumny, by which his enemies laboured to transfer to his personal character the imputation which unquestionably attaches to their own. It had become his duty to crush the power of Argyle. He performed that duty by the mode of warfare of the times, and by the only military means within his power. The amount of human suffering, involved in those campaigns whose responsible victors were Nelson and Wellington, vastly exceeded that of the campaigns of Montrose. The authority under which he acted, the means he employed, the spirit he evinced, were no less legitimate, constitutional, and Christian, than theirs. They could not say more justly than he did,—'I may *justly say*, that never subject acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power, than I did in this service.' Not all the laborious malice of the sect against which he warred, has yet been able to produce one single example of inhumanity, one single indication of an inexorable heart, one single instance of a rejected appeal for mercy, that can attach itself to the personal character of Montrose. Could as much be said for Nelson? But the untiring calumny has told. The too hasty concession, of a great genius over-taxed, to a ferocious clamour as unceasing as

'The wolf's long howl on Oonalaska's shore,'

led Sir Walter Scott to record of Montrose, 'That *some* of his actions arose more from the dictates of private revenge than became his nobler qualities.' (Hist. i. 421.) The crude compilation of a derivative essay betrayed Lord Mahon into the more confident assertion, 'For the *cruelties* that are *alleged* in Montrose's conduct, they can neither be denied nor defended.' (Hist. Essays, p. 193.) The disinclination, of a luxurious writer, to severe research upon every collateral point, com-

bined with ambition to be thought master of all, has disfigured Hallam's History of England with this reckless assertion, that, by the 'Scots Presbyterian army' Montrose was 'abhorred, and *very justly*, for his treacheries and cruelties, above all men living.' (Hist. ii. 37.)[1] But when we find Malcolm Laing, the special historian of those events, the historical antiquary *par excellence* of the Advocates' Library, with his head and hands full of documents exculpatory of Montrose,—when we find this pompous explorer of Scottish archives, preferring to write the hero down an *assassin* (see *supra*, p. 13), and parading his own conceited dogma, that 'Montrose was unconscious that humanity is the most distinguished attribute of an heroical character' (Hist. i. 256), we are constrained to say that he had sacrificed the truth of History to a personal political bias.

[1] Surely Mr Hallam could not reconsider that sentence in his great work, without regret that it had not rather graced some article in a Free-Kirk organ, or Lays of the Covenanters by a Lady. Could he illustrate its truth? Was he aware that the 'Scots Presbyterian Army' only acted with ordinary humanity when under the command of Montrose himself? Did he know that the ministers of the Covenant, who gave the whole tone and character to that army, first began to 'abhor' Montrose when he refused to obey their instructions to reduce Aberdeen to ashes? Can the great modern historian see, without a blush, that ill-informed sentence, whose very virulence is merely imitative, placed beside those dispassionate yet overwhelming addresses with which Montrose met his murderers? When stiff with wounds, weak from fever and starvation, fatigued with incessant persecution, 'lank-faced and hairy,' Montrose so majestically appealed from them to his Maker, in defence of the justice of his cause, the propriety of his actions, and the humanity of his conduct,—when the dying hero

> 'Roused his great soul to glorify his fate,
> And foil'd the adder of his foeman's hate,'

did not the sublimity of the truths he uttered deserve a better comment from Hallam?

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS ILLUSTRATING THE LAST MOMENTS AND DEATH OF MONTROSE. M.DC.L.

I. Extracts from the Fraser Manuscript.

'We are now to set down the fatall preludium and parrad of one of the noblest and gallantest Generalls this age saw in Brittain; whose unexampled achievements might frame a history. Were its volume far bigger than mine, it would yet be disproportionat to the due praise of this matchless hero.

'May fourth he was taken; and fourth day after, delivered to Sir David Lesley at Tain; Strachan having run South to have his reward of blood from the State; which did not a little gall Lesley, to see an upstart rival risen to honor, and to have so great a success: A vanity.

'Montrose being now in the custody of his mortall enemies, from whom he could expect no favour, yet expressed a singular constancy;

and, in a manner, a carelessness of his own condition. He was conveyed with guard over the river Connin, towards Beuly. Crossing that river, they refresht them at Lovat; such scurvy base indignities put all along upon him, as reached the height of reproach and scorn. Which confirms the poet's *dixi* and *ditte:*

> " Nescia mens hominum fati, sortisque futuræ,
> Et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis." [1]

Montross convoyed from Lovat to Inverness.

'*But now I set down that which I was myself eye witness of.*

'The seventh of May, at Lovat, he sat upon a little shelty horse, without a sadell but a quilt of raggs and straw, and pieces of ropes for stirrups; his feet fastened under the horses belly with a tether; and a bit halter for a bridle; a ragged old dark-reddish plaid; and a *montrer* cape, called *magirky*,[2] on his head; a muskatere on each side; and his fellow prisoners on feet after him. Thus conducted through the country, and near Inverness, upon the road under Moortoun, where he desired to alight, and called for a draught of water, being then in the first crise of a high fever.[3] And here the crowd from the town came forth to gaze. The two ministers, Mr John Annand, wait here upon [him] to comfort him; the latter of which the Marques was well acquaint with.[4] At the end of the bridge, stepping forward, an old woman, Margaret M^c^George, exclaimed and brawled, saying, " Mon-

[1] From the tenth book of the Æneid. The whole passage might be applied to the retributive fate of Argyle, except that he scarcely deserves the comparison with Turnus:—

'O mortals! blind in fate, who never know
To bear high fortune, or endure the low,
The time shall come, when Turnus, but in vain,
Shall wish untouched the trophies of the slain,
Shall wish the fatal belt were far away,
And curse the dire remembrance of that day.'—
(Dryden.)

[2] The words printed in italics are very difficult to decypher in the MS., and may have been misread. The Editor will not attempt to explain their meaning.

[3] '17 May, 1650. Letters [to London] that Montrose was taken two or three days after the fight, sixteen miles from the place of the engagement, disguised and *sorely wounded*.'—(Whitelock.)

[4] There is only one minister, however, named in the MS.

trose, looke above, view these ruinous houses of mine, which you occasioned to be burnt down, when you besieged Inverness." Yet he never altered his countenance; but, with a majesty and state beseeming him, keept a countenance high. At the Cross a table covered. The Magistrates treat him with wine, which he would not taste but allayed with water. The statly prisoners, his officers, stood under a forestair, and drank heartily. I remarked Collonel Hurry, a robust tall statly fellow, with a long cut on his cheek.[1] All the way through the streets, he [Montrose] never lowered his aspect. The Provost, Duncan Forbes, takeing leave of him at the town's-end, said, "My Lord, I am sorry for your circumstances." He replied,—"I am sorry for being the object of your pitty." The Marques was convoyed that night to Castle Stuart, where he lodged.

The Marques convoyed throw Murray unto Elgin.

'From Castle Stewart the Marquess is convoyed through Murray; and be the way some loyall gentlemen wait upon his Excelleney, most avowedly, and with grieved hearts: Such as the laird of Culbin, Kinard; Old Provost Tulloch, in Narden; Tannoehy, Tulloch; Capt. Thomas Maekenzy, Pluscaden; the laird of Cookstoun; and old Mr Thomas Foulertoun, his aequaintance at College. He was overjoyed to see these about him; and they were his guard forward to Forres, where the Marques was treated, and thence, afternoon, convoyed to Elgin city, where all these loyall gentlemen waited on him and diverted him all the time, with allowance of the General.[2] In the morning Mr Alexander Symons, parson of Duffus, waited on him at Elgin, being college aequaintanee with the Marques, four yeares his condisciple at St Andrews.[3] This

[1] This portrait is verified by Sir James Turner, who mentions that when the army of the Engagement was routed, 'Among others, Colonell Urrey got a dangerous shot on the left side of his head, whereof, though he was afterward taken prisoner, he recovered.'—(Memoirs, p. 65.)

[2] It would have been more to the purpose had these well-affected gentlemen planned his rescue; or had they previously joined him in arms.

[3] This is the first notice which the Editor has met with, of Montrose having been educated at St Andrews, with the excep-

cheered him wonderfully, as the Parson often told me. Thence they convoyed him all the way to the river of Spey, and a crowd of loyalists flockt about him unchallenged. Crossing Spey, they lodged all night at Keith; and next day, May tenth, being the Saboth, the Marques heard sermon there. A tent was set up in the fields for him, in which he lay; and the minister, Master William Kinanmond, altering his ordinary, chused for his theam, and text, the words of Samuel the prophet to Agag the King of the Amalekites, coming before him delecatly: "And Samuel said, as thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women," &c. This unnatural, merciless man so rated, reviled, and reflected upon the Marquess, in such invective virulent malicious manner, that some of the hearers, who were even of the swaying side, condemned him. Montrose patiently hearing him a long time, and insisting still, he said, "Rail on, *Rasoke;*"[1] and so turned his back to him in the tent. But all honest men hated Kinanmond for this ever after. Montrose desired to stay in the fields all night, lying upon straw in the tent till morning.

Heard sermon at Keith.

1 Sam. xv. 33.

'Monday after, they march through the Mearnes, south. By the way, the Marquess came to his father-in-law's house, the Earle of Southesk, where he visited two of his own children; but neither at meeting or at parting could any change of his former countenance [be seen], or the least expression heard, which was not suitable to the greatness of his spirit, and the fame of his former actions, worth, and vallour.[2] In transitu, his Excel-

Montross convoyed throw the Merns to Dundee.

tion of the recently discovered Southesk Papers, printed in vol. i.

[1] *Sic* in MS. Probably a Scriptural allusion miswritten. '*Raca*' means '*vain fellow*.'

[2] Montrose's Countess having died in 1645, was spared this dreadful scene in the very house where they had spent the first years of their married life. That this lady had submitted to the Covenanting regime, and so must have been estranged from her husband, seems to be proved *supra*, p. 194. The two boys, whom he now embraced for the last time, on the scene of his former happiness, were his only surviving children, James, who became second Marquis; and Robert, whose subsequent fate is not known, and whose existence has escaped the peerage writers. They both attended the pageant of his funeral in 1661. At Kinnaird Montrose might have seen his own youthful,

lency stayed one night at Dundee; and it is memorable that though this town suffered more losse by his army than any else in the kingdom, yet were they so far from insulting over him, that the whole town expressed a great deal of sorrow for his condition, and furnished him with cloaths and all other things suitable to his place, birth, and person. At Lieth he was received by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and thence convoyed up to the city by the water-gate of the Abby, and with him all the prisoners of quality on foot, about forty persons. But according to the sentence of the Parlement, the Marquess himselfe had the favour to be mounted on a cart horse. Having ended this part of his journay, in as much state as in tryumphs is accustomed to be, he was met at the end of the Canongate under the Nether-bow, by some other officers, and the executioner, hangman, in a livery coat, into whose hands he was delivered. There was framed for him a high seat in fashion of a chariot, upon each side of which was holes; through these a cord being drawn, crossing his breast and arms, bound him fast down in that mock chaire. The executioner then tooke off the Marques's hat, and put on him [*i. e.* the executioner] his own bonnet; and, this chariot being drawn with four horses, mounted on the first and solemnly drives along towards the Tolebooth. By this conduct was confirmed and fulfilled *Thomas Rithmer's* prophecy, never understood till now,—"*Visa la fin, on an ouler tree green, shall by many be seen*," &c. *Visa la fin*,[2]—look to the end,—is

To Edinburgh.

Visa la fin. Respice finem.

smiling portrait, reminding him of his boyish marriage just twenty years before; the same which yet remains, with scarcely a blemish on it, in the Castle of Kinnaird.

[2] The Reverend gentleman's interpretation of ancient prophecies will not bear inspection. The Montrose motto is *N'oublie*. None of the numerous branches of the house bear the motto in the text. But *Arise la Fin* is the motto of the *Cassilis* family; and, in the time of Robert III., the *widow* of Sir James Kennedy married Sir William Graham of Kincardine, the ancestor of Montrose.

The prophecy itself is very imperfectly quoted. Not in the prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer, but in those of 'Sibylla and Eltraine,' occurs the following:—

> 'The sadled horse shall be seene,
> Tied to a tree greene,

Montrose or Graham's motto; and this cart was made of green owler, alder timber, which happened to be brought in newly cut to the marcat place, and there sold.

'The vast crowd of people, who assembled to gaze upon this noble peer, who before wished to see this spectacle, and wished him all vengence and misfortune, could not now restrain teares; wringing their hands, they began to be shaken with the first shew of his tragedy. Then being incarcerat in the Tolebooth, [he was] so closely shut up that none of his dearest friends were suffered to come nigh him. Being now in the mercy of his implacable foes, not satisfied with his calamities, they reviled him with all possible spite, objecting to him his former condition and present misery, pronouncing heavy judgements against him; and being asked why they could not otherwayes be satisfied but by so ignominiously handling of him, replyed, that they knew no other way to humble him, and bring him home to God.

The sentence found against Montross.

'The Committee appointed be the Parliament to draw up a sentence against him, did it in these words:—That he should be hanged on a gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh, untill he dyed; his history and declaration being tied about his neck; and so hang three hours in publick view of all the People; after which he should be beheaded and quartered; his head set up on the prison house of Edinburgh; his legs over the gates of Sterling and Glasgow; his arms at Perth and Aberdeen; the trunk of his body to be burried in the Gallow-Moore, under the common gallows.

'The Parliament sent some of their members to examine him; but he disdained, refusing to answer them any, till he knew and was satisfied upon what tearmes they stood with the King, his Royall Master.

And with *Avisa la fine*
In a bage shall be borne,
Syne twa shipes in a sheild
That day shall foote the field,
To the Antelopes beild,
And fetch him beforne.'

(See Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies, reprinted for the Bannatyne Club, 1833, p. 46.) Curious enough, however, 'twa shipes in a sheild' is descriptive of the bearings of Argyle.

They told, the King and they were agreed. "Then," saith the Marquess, "I desire to be at rest, for I am weary with a long journey; and the complement you put upon me is somewhat tedious; and I desire to be rid of you, for I set no great value upon your converse. You punies! you thought ye had affronted me the day before, by carrying me in a cart; but you are much mistaken; for I judged it the most honorable and joyfull cavilcade that ever I made, God having all the [way] most comfortably manifested his presence to me, and furnisht me to overlook the reproaches of men, and behold him for whose cause I suffered. And so you may be gone, I have enough of you."

Montrose brought before the Parliament.

'Moonday nineteenth, he was brought before the Parliament. A long penned discourse was delivered by the Chancelour, wherein he declared to him his miscarriage against the first Covenant, the League and Covenant, his invasion, and joining with the Irish rebells, and blood-guiltiness, for which God had now brought him to just punishment.

His first answer.

'The Marques desired leave to speake; which being granted, said: "Since you have declared to me that you have agreed with the King, I looke upon you as if his Majesty were sitting among you; without whom you have no power; and in that relation onely, I appear with this reverence, bare-headed. My care hath been alwayes to walk as it became a good Christian, and a loyal subject. I engaged in the *first* Covenant; and was faithful to it, untill I perceived some privat persones, under collour of Religion, intended to wring the authority from the King, and to seize on it for themselves; and then it was thought fit, for the clearing of honest men, that a Bond should be subscribed, wherein the security of Religion was sufficiently provided for. This satisfied my conscience, and I subscribed it.[1] As for that you call the *League and*

His second answer.

[1] This is the simple and honest explanation of Montrose's early separation from the Covenant of 1637, which he at first embraced and aided with all the youthful ardour of his disposition. He refers to the conservative Bond signed at Cumbernauld in 1641, the history of which, and of the persecution which arose out of it, will be found in the

Covenant, I thank God I was never in it, and so could not break it. But how far Religion hath been advanced by it, and the sad consequences that have followed on it, these poor distressed Kingdomes can now witness. For when his late Majesty had, by the blessing of God, almost subdued those enemies that rose up against him in England, and that *a faction* of this Kingdom went in to the assistance of them, his Majesty gave commission unto me, to come into this Kingdom, and to make a diversion of those forces that were going from hence against him. I acknowledge the command was most just; and I conceived myselfe bound in conscience and duty to obey it. What my carriage was in this country, many of you beare witness. Disorders in any army cannot be prevented. But they were no sooner known than prevented. Never was any blood spilt but in battle; and even then,—many thousands live whom I preserved.[1] And as I came in upon his Majesties warrant, so, upon his letters, did I lay aside all interest, and retreated. And, for my coming in at this time, it was by his Majesties command, in order to accelerat the treaty betwixt him and you; his Majesty knowing that whenever he had ended with you I was ready to retire upon his call. I may justly say, that never subject acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawfull power, than I did in this service. And therefore I adjure you to lay aside prejudice, and consider me as *a Christian,* in relation to the justice of the quarrell, as *a subject,* in relation to my Royal Master's commands, and as *your neighbour,* in relation to *the many of your lives I have preserved in battle.* And be not too rash. Let me be judged by the lawes of God, the lawes of Nations, and Nature, and

first volume of these Memorials. That chapter of his history (surely nothing extraordinary in a political career) comprehends the '*treacheries*' to which Mr Hallam refers in the passage commented upon in the Introduction to this Part. His destruction, as the King's Lieutenant, of the armies of the Covenant, and of the rebel power of Argyle, constitute his '*cruelties.*'

[1] See *supra,* p. 236, for an evidence of Montrose's desire to restrain the excesses of his desultory army. See also the testimony of his bitter enemy Lauderdale in his favour, *supra,* p. 377, *note.*

the lawes of this land. If you do otherwayes,—I do here appeale from you to the righteous Judge of the world, who one day will judge you all, and must be your judge and mine,—and we must both answer,—and gives allwayes righteous judgement."

'This discourse he delivered with such gravity, and without passion, as was much admired even of his enemies, whom he dasht and confounded with his confidence and undaunted courage. The Chancellour desired the sentence to be read, which he heard with a settled and unmoved countenance; and, desireing to be further heard, was presently stopt by the Chancellour, who commanded he should be convoyed back again to prison:—[1]

'Where he was no sooner come, but the ministers assaulted him afresh, aggravating the terror of the sentence, thereby to fright him. Montrose's Discourse in private.

[1] The speech to the Parliament is, manifestly, a production from the same mind, under the same circumstances, as the speech on the scaffold. It is singular, that Lord Mahon, while he pronounces the latter to have been forged after his death, should rely upon, and quote the former as part of the history of Montrose! The authenticity of both rests upon precisely the same contemporary evidence. Sir James Balfour, an eye witness, notes a great deal of low abuse, as the reply of the Chancellor London to the thrilling address from Montrose. Then follows this portrait of the hero, drawn by the hand of an enemy:

'He behaved himself all this time in the House with a great deal of courage and modesty, unmoved and undaunted, as appeared; only he sighed two several times, and rolled his eyes alongst all the corners of the House; and at the reading of the sentence he lift up his face, without any word speaking. He presented himself in a suit of black cloth, with a scarlet coat to his knee, trimmed with silver galouns, lined with crimson tafta; on his head a bever hat and silver band. He looked somewhat pale, lank-faced, and hairy.'—(Annals, iv. 16.)

It seems that on that very morning, after taking 'a little bread dipt in ale' for breakfast, 'he desired to have a barber to shave him,' before appearing in presence of the Parliament. This was refused. An ear witness narrates his reply in these terms—'I could not think but they would have allowed that to a dog.' The whole scene of his perseeution by the ministers, on that morning before ten o'clock, will be found in a curious paper, printed from the Wodrow MS. (subsequently printed with the great mass of the Wodrow Collections) in The Life and Times of Montrose, pp. 483-486.

He acknowledged himself much beholden to the Parliament for the honour they had put upon him; saying, he took it for a greater grandeur to have his head stand upon the prison gate, for this quarrel, than to have his picture set up in the King's bedchamber; and lest his loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honoured him, in designing lasting monuments to four of the chiefest cities of this Realm, to beare up his memoriall to all posterity; wishing that he had flesh enough to have sent a piece of the same to every city in Christendome, to witness his loyalty to his King and Country.

His gestur and carriage that night, and going to the scaffold.

'That night none of his friends were suffered to come neare him; but a rude guard still in the chamber with him, so that he had neither time nor place for his private devotions but in their hearing. Cruel barbarity!

'The fatall day being come, designed to put a period to all his troubles, there was erected in the middle of the mercat-place, 'twixt the Cross and Tron, a large four-square scaffold, breast high, in the midst of which was planted a gibbet of thirty feet height. He was convoyed by the Baliefs out of the gaile, cloathed in a scarlet cloake richly shammaded with golden lace. He stept along the streets with so great state, and there appeared in his countenance so much beauty, majesty, and gravity, as amazed the beholders: and many of his enemies did acknowledge him to be the bravest subject in the world, and in him a gallantry that graced all the crowd, more beseeming a Monarch than a mear Peer. And in this posture he stept up to the scaffold; where, all his friends and well-willers being debarred from coming neare, they caused a young boy to sit upon the scaffold, by him, designed for that purpose, who wrote his last speech in brachography, as follows. The young man's name was Mr Robert Gordon, sone to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun; *from whom I got the same,* thus:

Mr Robert Gordon Cluny, my cammarad.

Montrose his speech upon scaffold.

'"I am sorry if this manner of my end be scandalous to any good Christian here. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according to

the way of the unrighteous? Doth not sometimes a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his wickedness and malice? They who know me, should not disesteem me for this. Many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind. But I must not say but that all God's judgements are just. And this measure, for my private sins, I acknowledge to be just with God. I wholly submit myself to Him. But in regard of man, I may say they are but instruments. God forgive them; and I forgive them. They have oppressed the poor, and violently perverted judgement and justice. But He that is higher than they will reward them. What I did in this Kingdom was in obedience to the most just commands of my Sovereign; and in his defence, in the day of his distress, against those who rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing; but feare God and honour the King, according to the commandments of God, and the just laws of Nature and Nations. And I have not sinned against man, but against God; and with Him there is mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near unto Him. It is objected against me by many, even good people, that I am under the censure of the Church. This is not my fault, seeing it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my Prince's most just commands, for Religion, his sacred person, and authority. Yet I am sorry they did excommunicate me; and, in that which is according to God's laws, without wronging my conscience or allegeance, I desire to be relaxed. If *they* will not do it, I appeal to *God,* who is the righteous Judge of the world, and who must, and will I hope, be my judge and Saviour. It is spoken of me that I should blame the King.[1] God forbid. For the late King, he lived a Saint, and died a Martyr. I pray God I may end as he did. If ever I would wish my soul in another man's stead, it should be in his. For his Majesty now living, never any people, I believe, might be more happy in a King. His commands to me were most just, and I obeyed

[1] 'That I should blame the King' here means, according to an idiom common at that time, 'that I do blame or have blamed the King.' This is clearly an allusion to the *warning,* of which Argyle boasts in his letter, quoted in the Introduction to this Part. But Montrose would have disdained to impute that blame to his Sovereign which he deserved.

them. He deals justly with all men. I pray God he be so dealt with-all, *that he be not betrayed under trust as his father was.* I desire not to be mistaken; as if my carriage at this time, in relation to your wayes, were stubborn. I do but follow the light of my conscience, my rule, which is seconded by the working of the Spirit of God that is within me. I thank Him I goe to Heaven with joy the way he paved for me. If He enable me against the fear of death, and furnish me with courage and confidence to embrace it even in its most ugly shape, let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my damnation. Yet I say not this out of any fear or mistrust, but out of my duty to God, and love to His people. I have no more to say, but that I desire your charity and prayers. And I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my Prince, my good-will to my friends, my love and charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my conscience."

'The ministers, becaus he was under the sentence of excommunication, would not pray for him, and even on the scaffold were very bitter against him. Being desired to pray apart, he said,—"I have already poured out my soul before the Lord, who knowes my heart, and into whose hand I have committed my spirit, and he hath been pleased to return to me a full assurance of peace in Jesus Christ my Redeemer; and therefore if you will not join with me in prayer, my reiterating it again will be but scandalous to you and me."[1] So, closing his eyes and holding up his hands, he stood a good space with his inward devout ejaculations, being perceived to be mightily moved all the while. When he had done, he called for the executioner, and gave him four pieces of gold; who, weeping, tooke his booke and declaratione, and other printed papers which he had published in his life, and being all tied in a string, hanged them together about his neck, when he said, "I luif this more than my badge of being Knight of the Garter, which his Sacred Majesty was pleased to make me; nay, more my honour than a

[1] Compare with Argyle's fanatical account, in the letter quoted in the Introduction.

chain of gold." Then his arms being tied, he asked the officers if they had any more dishonour, as they conceived it, to put uppoun him,—he was readdy to receave and accept of the same. And so, with an undaunted courage and gravity, in spite of all their affronts, uncivil and barbarous usage, he went up to the top of that prodigious gibbet, where having freely pardoned the executioner, desired him that, at the uplifting of his hands, he should tumble him over; which was accordingly done by the weeping hangman, who with his most honest teares seemed to revile the cruelty of his countrymen; which may serve for a test of the rebellious and diabolicall spirit of that malitious Consistory. After three hours he was taken down, and had his head cut off, which was fixed on the iron pin, west end of the Tolbooth, his quarters sent to be placed and set up in the several cities, and the rest of his mortal parts buried under the gallows.

'Now that I have run out so much uppon particulars in the life and actings of this renowned Heroe—It is to give himselfe his due praise, and to sattisfie my reader, who perhaps will not find so an exact account of him in any story; and if it please not him, I have done enough to please myselfe, and to propogat his fame. Seing such another person, such another subject, *consideratis considerandis*, and *cæteris paribus*, is not to be found in all my chronology; and being myselfe eye and ear witnes of this great man's proceedings in part, and haveing got the impartiall information from his own soldiers and followers, I was the freer to record it as unquestionable truths. True, indeed, the history of his life is very well done in a small volume by the famous Doctor Jo. Wishart, Rector of Leith; and also by William Winstanly, in his English Worthies, who sayes, "It may seem strange in such a scarcety of Scotch worthies, there being so many English, that I should goe about to borrow one from that country, where, if Diogenes the cinique, with his lanthern, were to make inquest after such an impossibilitie, he would infallibly conclud a non-such in Scotland to be found." Heath, in his

history, gives him impartiall praise, and so doth *Medulla Historicæ Anglicanæ*. But I have compendized the marrow of what they all say, and added what they touch not at all, which I well knew in my own time, haveing seen him when taken prisoner, convoyed him to Innerness, and through Murray, and got a very sure account of him thereafter in his imprisonment at Edinburgh, and his execution there. I saw his arm upon the justice port of Aberdeen, another uppon the south port of Dundee, his head uppon the Tolebooth of Edinburgh. *Also I saw it taken down, and Argile's head put up in the place of it.*'[1]

[1] Extracted from the Fraser Manuscript, in possession of John Thomson, Esq., Liverpool. See Introduction to this Part. All the notices of Montrose contained in the contemporary chronicles enumerated by the reverend author, are derived from the original work of Dr Wishart, together with the 'Continuation,' which was added to the edition of 1652, and the 'Relation' of the last scene, reprinted at the same time from the original pamphlet of 1650. It is remarkable that Mr Fraser should have mistaken both the name and designation of the celebrated chaplain of Montrose. His name was George, and he was never placed at Leith. He was one of the ministers of St Andrews, until driven out by the Covenanting Government, in 1639. See vol. i. p. 133. The same mistake, however, as to his having been minister at Leith, occurs in Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, and was not corrected by Dr Russell.

The account of Montrose's last moments, which Dr Wishart left in latin, and which has never been printed, is just the 'Relation' printed in London, 1650, under the title given in the note, *supra*, p. 426, and which was reprinted *verbatim* in 1652, in *Montrose Redivivus*. As to this, great confusion prevails, which was not cleared up by Constable's edition of Montrose's Memoirs, published in 1819. In the edition by Mr Adams, in 1720, there appeared for the first time a translation of the unpublished second part of the latin *Commentarius*. That editor there inserts the 'Relation,' as he found it in *Montrose Redivivus*, 1652, and calls it 'an old *translation* of the *latin* manuscript.' But he was not aware of the *pamphlet* in 1650, of which the other was neither more nor less than a reprint. The original pamphlet, however, could not have been by Dr Wishart; as it bears to have been written by an eye-witness of Montrose's execution; and his faithful chaplain was then in exile. Dr Wishart, as was most natural, had just turned the pamphlet of 1650 into latin, to compose the last chapter of his narrative. Accordingly, Wishart's latin version of Montrose's last speech precisely agrees with that printed in 1650. The boy who took it down, he

II. Relation of the Death of Montrose, written from Edinburgh to London by an Eyewitness, 21st May, 1650.

Edinburgh, May 21, 1650.

What with the early going away of the Post, and what with the *hubaub* wee are in, *Montrose being now on the scaffold,* I must cut short.

Satterday hee was brought into the towne, sitting tyed with a rope upon a highe chayre, upon a cart; the hangman having before taken off his hatt, and riding beefore him with his bonnet on. Sen I have beene with him, hee saith, for personall offences he hath deserved all this, but justifies his cause.[1] Hee caused a new suit to bee made for himselfe, and came yesterday into the Parliament House with a scarlet rocket, and suit of pure cloath, all laid with rich lace, a beaver and rich hatt-band, and scarlett silke stockings. The Chancellour made a large speech to him, discovering how much formerly he was for the Covenant, and how hee hath since broake it. Hee desired to know wheather hee might bee free to answer; and being admitted, he told them his cause was good, and that hee hade not only a *commission,* but *particular orders,* for what hee hadd done, from his Majestie, which hee was engaged to

calls 'puer quidam *ignotus.*' But we have now discovered both his name and parentage. Dr Wishart also mentions that Montrose was tyrannically deprived of the privilege of addressing the assembled people, usually accorded to a nobleman dying on the scaffold; that he could only deliver his last speech in a series of replies to the accusations and interrogatories with which he was beset on the scaffold; and that the interrupted sentences so taken down, were instantly and faithfully put together by a notary, for immediate publication.

[1] This is a hurried report, liable to misconception, of the Christian reply with which Montrose constantly met the fanatical railings of his merciless persecutors. Before God, and as an erring creature, he freely admitted the justness of all that God had permitted to befall him. Before man, and in the face of his enemies, he declared himself not guilty, and vindicated his cause, his conduct, and his character. Throughout the whole of this trying scene, he was never betrayed for a moment out of the temper of a Christian about to die.

bee a servant to: and they allsoe hadd professed to comply: and upon that accompte, however they dealt with him, yet hee would owne them to bee a true Parliament. And hee further told them, that if they would take away his life, the world knew hee regarded it not; that it was a debt that must once bee payd; and that hee was willing and did much rejoyce that hee must goe the same way his Master did; and it was the joy of his heart, not only to doe but to suffer for him.

His sentence was, to bee hanged upone a galhouse thirty foote high, three houres, at Edinburgh Crosse; to have his head strucken off, and hanged upon Edinburgh Towleboothe, and his armes and legges to bee hanged upp in other publique townes in the Kingdome, as Glescoe, etc., and his body to bee buried at the common burying-place, in case excommunication from the Kirke was taken off, or else to bee buryed where those are buried that were hanged.

All the tyme, while the sentence was given, and allsoe when he was executed, he seemed noe way to bee altered, or his spirit moved; but his speech was full of composure, and his carriage as sweete as [ever] I saw a man in all my dayes. When they bidd him kneele, he told them hee would; he was willing to observe any posture that might manifest his obedience, especially to them whoe were soe neere conjunction with his master. It is absolutly beleeved that hee hath overcome more men, by his death, in Scotland, then hee would have done if hee had lived. For I never saw a more sweeter carriage in a man in all my life. I should wryte more largely if I hadd tyme; *but hee is just now a turning of from the lather:* but his countenance changes not. But the rest, that came in with him a Satterday, are in great feares. The King is expected dayly. The Parliament and Kirk doe conceive that if hee doth not speedily come in, that his ground of coming was rather upon Montrose's scoare then his agreement with them. The event of these things will suddenly bee knowne. They are forthwith a raysing men, and have chosen there officers allready. They doe intend to make up their army 25,000; but are fearfull too publiquly to appeare, for feare they should

encourage the English army to march. There are severall gentilmen come from England; amongst the rest, one Major Welldon, brother to the Governor of Plimmouth, speakes very highly for King and Covenant. I have not tyme to tell you how much the Scotts are encouraged by the backwardnes of the English army not marching norward. But I shall say noe more, but rests,

Really yours.

[*Indorsed*] Relation from Edinburgh concerning the hanging Montrose, May 21, 1650.[1]

[1] The above interesting letter was only recently discovered by the Editor among the manuscripts of the British Museum. The writing is obviously contemporary; but there is no signature or address. It is not easy to determine whether it be the original hurried communication, or a hasty transcript, for the purpose of publication in London. The composition bears evident marks of great haste and flurry. Some parts of the letter must have been noted while the writer was actually gazing upon the countenance of the dying hero. Other parts, relating to general news, would seem to have been added immediately afterwards, when the correspondent had withdrawn from the exciting scene. No doubt the substance will be found in some pamphlet of the day; and Whitelock, in his Memorials, probably alludes to it, when, on 27th May 1650, he notes, 'From Edinburgh, the particulars of the Execution of Montrose.' For the short account which he adds agrees more closely with the above letter than with the much fuller account afforded by the 'Relation,' containing his speech, &c. printed in 1650. Of course various correspondents of the London press would communicate the intelligence. The document is contained in a volume of original papers presented to the British Museum, August 6th, 1802, by Nicolas Vansittart, Esq., Secretary to the Treasury.

The accounts of Montrose's death did not reach Paris until the 11th of June thereafter. At that time Abraham Cowley, the poet, was private Secretary to Henrietta Maria's minion, the Earl of St Albans. The following, which occurs in a letter from the poet to Henry Bennet (afterwards Earl of Arlington), dated Paris, June 11, 1650, is not generally known:—

'*This day* news is come, that at Edinburgh they have hanged, drawn, and quartered the Lord Montrose in a cruel and barbarous manner; the particulars I know not yet; and some say he was first hanged, then beheaded, and then quartered. If this be true, as I fear it is, it is a great and most unseasonable misfortune. And though

III. King Charles II. to James second Marquis of Montrose, 8th June 1650.

My Lord of Montrose,—Though your Father is unfortunately lost, contrary to my expectation, yet I assure you I shall have the same care for you as if he were still living, and as able to serve me as ever; and shall provide for your subsistance with that affection you have reason to expect from

Your affectionate friend,

Charles R.

June the 8th 1650.

For the Marques of Montrose.[1]

I doubted no more of his death, after his being taken, than of his being beaten after I heard of his landing,—yet I thought that either he would not have fallen alive into their hands, or that even in that case they would have contented themselves, in this conjuncture, with the revenge of simply putting him to death, without such extraordinary circumstances of cruelty. I am confounded with the thought of it; but by the next, shall be better able to give you an account of it. I am, Sir, your most humble and most faithful servant, A. Cowley.' (*Miscellanea Aulica*, 1702, p. 138.) Cowley, like all the rest of the world, was ignorant of the long continued pressure, from many quarters, under which Montrose acted; especially the peremptory and private instructions from Charles II.

[1] Original, Montrose charter-chest. This letter was unknown, until the Editor first printed it, in the Life and Times of Montrose. It contrasts curiously with that nefarious attempt of Argyle's, in the Parliament of the 25th May 1650, to create an impression that 'his Majesty was no wayes sorry that James Graham was defeated, in respect he had made that invasion without and contrary to his commands' (*supra*, p. 427). But, under all the circumstances, this poor letter of condolence, from the son of the murdered Charles, to the son of the murdered Montrose, can only excite a blush for the 'merry Monarch.' He was now by way of receiving his Crown from those by whose means he had lost it, and whom he inwardly abhorred and despised.

My Lord of Montrose though your father is unfortunately lost contrary to my expectation yet I assure you I shall have the same care for you as if he were still living and as able to serue me as ever. and shall prouide for your substistance with that affection you haue reason to expect from

your affectionate friend

Charles R

June the 8th 1650

APPENDIX TO PART VII.

I.

Intercession of France to save the Life of Montrose.

[The savage rapidity with which Montrose was hurried to his death was well understood at the time. Whitelock notes, on the day before the execution,—'20th May 1650, Letters from Berwicke, that, in Scotland, Montrosse was sentenced to be quartered, and preparations for his execution, before they heard from their King, or he from them, lest he should interceed for his pardon.' Even so late as the tenth of June it was supposed, at the Court of France, that this outrage to humanity could not have been accomplished. Cardinal de Retz, whose just appreciation of the hero has become so famous, instantly exerted himself to save his life. The result was the following letter from the Regency, which is now first printed from the original in the Montrose charter-chest:—]

From Louis XIV., and the Regency, to the Parliament of Scotland, 10th June 1650.

Tres chers et grands Amis,—Aiants seeu que le Sieur Marquis de Monterosse estoit demeuré prisonnier au dernier combat qu'il a rendu en Escosse, et considerant que ce malheur luy est arriué par le sort des armes, en executant la commission de notre tres cher et tres amé frere et Cousin le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, qu'il s'est tousjours conduit auec beaucoup de prudence, d'honneure, et de vertu, et qu'il en a merité notre beinueillance, et notre affection particulliere; Aiant mesmes esgard a la treshumble priere qui nous a esté faitte en sa faueur par le

Sieur Eucsque de Corinthe, coadjuteur en l'Archeuesche de nostre bonne ville de Paris, Nous nous sentons conuiez de vous escrire celleey par l'auis de la Reyne regente, nostre treshonoree Dame et Mere, pour vous prier de mettre le dit Sieur Marquis en liberté et de ne pas souffrir qu'il luy soit fait aucun mauuais traitte-ment. Nous nous promettons que vous aurez esgard a nostre recommendation, que nous vous faisons tres affectionnee, et que vous voudrez preferer les douceurs dela clemence aux rigueurs du chastiment, qu'on peut dire n'auoir pas merité, puisqu'il a genereusement satisfait a son premier devuoir, en obeissant au Roy son Souuerain, et le vostre qui se pourra souuenir vn jour dela faueur que vouz aurez faicte a vn de ses seruiteurs pour lequel nous enuoyons exprez ce Gentil-homme qui vous asseurera de nostre affection, auquel vous donnerez creance en tout ce qu'il vous dira de nostre part, et vous fera cognoistre que nos instances se font pour le dit Sieur de Monterosse d'aussy bon cœur que nous prions dieu vous auoir tres chers et grands amis en sa saincte et digne garde. Escrit a Compiegne le 10 jour de Juin 1650.

Louis.

De Lomenie.

Au Parlement d'Escosse.

II.

Modern Errors as to the Place of Montrose's Execution.

Montrose was executed *at the Cross of Edinburgh*, on the south side of the High Street, about midway between the Tolbooth and the Tron Kirk. This is proved by the terms of the sentence, by various contemporary accounts, and, more particularly, by the Fraser Manuscript. Thus, in walking to the scaffold, he had to proceed only a very short distance *eastward*. Sir Walter Scott, however, followed by the author of the Life and Times of Montrose, had placed the scene much further to the *westward*, namely, in the Grassmarket, at the base of the Castle rock. Sir Walter says: 'The Marquis walked on foot from the prison to the Grass-market, the common place of execution for the basest felons, where a gibbet of extraordinary height, with a scaffold covered with black cloth, were erected.' (Hist. i. 481.) The Editor, in his Life of Montrose, being more occupied with the question *why* Montrose was hanged, than *where*, followed this high authority with-

out farther consideration, and recorded, that, 'In the centre of the Grassmarket of Edinburgh there was erected an ample stage, from which arose a gallows, with its corresponding ladder, of the extraordinary height of thirty feet; to which place, from the prison, Montrose had to walk.' (Life, p. 492.) Lord Mahon, busy detecting imaginary errors, had too elaborately adopted a real blunder, by a romantic pilgrimage to the wrong place. He says: 'Montrose walked on foot from the prison to the Grassmarket, the common place of execution for the meanest malefactors, in the midst of which arose, conspicuous from afar, the dismal gallows, thirty feet high, and covered with black cloth. We have been gazing at the spot on the very day on which we write these lines, and but few of its permanent objects seem altered since there fell upon them the last look of Montrose. Scarce one new edifice,—nay, scarce even a trace of modern architecture breaks their gloom. There are still the same antique houses of dark massy stone, with their manifold rows of windows and their gable roofs,—yonder still towers the old Castle on its beetling precipice,—yonder the same low portals open to the same dusky closes and wynds.' (Hist. Essays, p. 189.) But he was hanged at the Cross.

Sir Walter Scott was mistaken in supposing that the Grassmarket was at that time a place of execution; it only became so about the time of the Restoration. The Cross of Edinburgh, the Castle Hill, a spot between Leith and Edinburgh, and another at the south-east extremity of the Borough Moor Loch, were, prior to the reign of Charles II., the most notorious scenes of the ordinary justice, and the factious public murders of Scotland. Mr Wilson's very interesting and accurate illustrations of the Antiquities of Edinburgh, will sufficiently inform the reader curious in such localities. The extensive plain of fertile pastures, to the south of the city, surrounded by venerable trees, so well known by the name of 'The Meadows,' was, in the time of Montrose, occupied by 'The Borough Moor Loch;' drained in after years by the enterprize of Hope of Rankeillour; from which circumstance, the Meadows have also derived the name of Hope Park. At the south-east extremity of the Loch, and in the vicinity of the now well inhabited district of the suburbs called Newington, stood a common felon gallows, in very constant use, the precise locality of which can yet be easily pointed out. It was there that the headless and mangled trunk of Montrose was doomed to be buried, as the penalty of his enlightened rejection of the darkling and murderous arrogance of the dominant Kirk. In 'The Continuation of Montrose's Historie,' published in 1652, it is stated, 'Being cut down, without so much as any to receive his falling corps, his head was smitten off, his arms by the shoulders, and his legs by the knees,

and so put into several boxes made for the purpose; the rest of his body was, by three or four porters, carried out to the public place of execution, called the *Borough Moor*,—answerable to that of Tyburn by London, but walled about,—and there was it thrown into a hole, *where afterwards it was digged up by night, and the linen in which it was folded stolen away.*' (*Montrose Redivivus*, p. 186.)

This last mentioned circumstance, the accurate version of which seems to have been unknown even to the contemporary writer, belongs to the extraordinary and romantic incident of the theft of Montrose's heart, for Lady Napier, which forms the subject of the next article.

'After Montrose's death, the scaffold which was set up at the Cross for the mangling of his body, was, contrary to all former custom, kept unremoved near two months, for the execution of the Scots officers who were taken with him, and other worthy men who had embarked in the same cause: So that it became all covered with blood and gore, and was called "the ministers' altar," of whom it was sarcastically observed upon this occasion, "that they delighted not in unbloody sacrifices."' (Skinner's Ecclesiastical History, p. 417.)

III.

The Heart of Montrose.

Mr Sharpe, in his most amusing and instructive edition of Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, says: 'After the execution of Montrose, Lady Napier, the wife of his near relation and intimate friend, *purchased* his heart at a great price, and enshrined it in an urn, which is represented in her portrait belonging to Lord Napier,' (p. 125.) From this it might be inferred that the sad memorial had been made the subject of mercenary barter by his enemies. The fact is, however, that the Lady obtained it surreptitiously, and no doubt at considerable personal risk both to herself and those who aided her in the desperate adventure. The devotion of Lady Napier, and her two sisters-in-law, Lady Stirling of Keir, and Lilias Napier, to their heroic uncle, and the severe treatment to which they were subjected in consequence by the Covenanting Government, has been amply illustrated in this volume (*supra*, 200–208). At the time of his execution, those of his male relatives who were most deeply interested in his fate were in exile.

Lord Napier, with his sister Lilias, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Dr Wishart, were living together in Holland. But Lady Elizabeth Erskine (Lady Napier) adhered to Scotland for the sake of her young family. She was residing in the Castle of Merchiston, situated at the south-west extremity of the Borough Moor Loch, at the time when the mangled body of the illustrious relative for whose sake she had suffered so much, was thrust into a vile hole at the other extremity. Whether she was kept company by her fellow-sufferer Lady Stirling, or whether the latter (who had no family) accompanied her husband into exile, as is more probable, does not appear.

All the contemporary accounts mention that none of Montrose's relatives or well-wishers were permitted to see him in prison, or to accompany him to the scaffold. But no restraint was placed upon his desire to adorn his person, and to display, amid all the contumelies and barbarities that were heaped upon him, the exterior of a perfect gentleman, as he was by nature and in mind. That the indulgence of this refined taste, which dazzled even his savage persecutors, could, under the circumstances, only have been effected through the exertions of devoted friends, and that *feminine* affection must have been predominant in the arrangements, is obvious from the nature of his equipments. The most graphic description of his personal appearance is by the notary-public, John Nicoll, an eye-witness:

'In his doun going fra the Tolbuith to the place of execution, he was verrie rychlie cled in fyne scarlet, layd over with riche silver lace, his hat in his hand, his goldin hat-ban, his stokingis of incarnet silk, and his schooes with their ribbenes on his feet, and sarkis provydit for him with pearling about, above ten pund the elne. *All these war provydit for him be his friendis;* and ane prettie cassik put upone him, upone the scaffold, quhairin he was hangit. To be schoirt, nothing wes heir deficient to honour his pure carcage, moir beseiming a brydegroom nor a criminall going to the gallowis.' (Diary, p. 13.)

There can be no reasonable doubt that the provider of the means for this melancholy, but not unnecessary display (for it was a contest betwixt fanatical barbarism and Christian civilization), was Lady Napier. And thus we have more than realized to us the romance of Flora M'Ivor. Another circumstance tends to confirm the fact. The stockings which Montrose wore upon that occasion, attracted much notice, being of 'incarnate silk.' They are still in possession of the descendant of that noble Lady, the present Lord Napier; and are understood to have been in possession of the family, with other relics, since the time of the hero's

death. They are composed of unspun silk, knitted, not woven.[1] The original carnation or rose colour with which they had been dyed, has long since faded away, except in some of the folds, where the dye is yet distinctly visible. They are of a glossy texture, and not at all worn. The upper part of both, which must have reached above the knees, appears to have been saturated with blood, the dark stains of which diminish in streaks towards the ankle; and in one of the stockings a streak extends to the instep. The fact of hewing off the limbs, when the stockings (which are not cut) were shoved down below the knees by the operator, would perfectly account for those appearances. Probably they were purchased from the executioner by the same noble Lady who had provided them. There was no one on the scaffold except the executioner and his assistants, when the last scene of this butchery was gone through. The notary public, Nicoll, however, appears to have closely watched the consummation. He says: 'He hung full three hours; thaireftir cut down, *falling on his face*, nane to countenance him but the executioner and his men.' (Diary, p. 12.) Another eye-witness tells us that Lord Lorn, 'Entertaining his new bride, the Earl of Murray's daughter, with this spectacle, mocked and laughed in the midst of that weeping assemblie; and staying afterwards to see him hewen in pieces, triumphed at every stroak which was bestowed upon his mangled body.' (*Montrose Redivivus*, p. 186.)

Another relic yet more interesting accompanies the stockings in the Napier charter-chest. It is a piece of the finest linen, evidently very ancient, about three feet square, tasselled at the corners like a pall, and trimmed all round with a border of antique lace, probably what Nicoll, in his description of Montrose's dress, describes as 'pearling above ten pund the elne.' This sheet appears to have been wrapped round something which had marked it, particularly towards the centre, with stains and blotches of different hues. These are precisely of the nature and configuration that would be occasioned by the linen having been used to envelope a human heart, when newly extracted from the body. It has been called, in the Napier family, Montrose's handkerchief, stained with his blood. But the sheet is too large for that piece of dress, and Montrose only used his hand as a signal. The passage already quoted from the contemporary narrator (*supra*, p. 454), which informs us that the desevered body was 'afterwards digged up by night, and *the linen in which it was folded* stolen away,' at once explains the relic. Even that contemporary writer, however, was not aware of the actual nature of the

[1] When formerly examining these stockings, the Editor had erroneously concluded that they were not silk; and has so stated it in his Life of Montrose.

theft. Several of these chroniclers indicate a more or less imperfect knowledge of the fact, that the grave under the Gibbet-toll had been broken open. Lamont has it, 'For his body, it was caried out and buryed in the Borrowe Moore, a place where malefactors are interred. It is reported by some, that it was taken up againe that same very nyght, and caried to some other place by his friends.' (Diary, p. 21.) But Sydserf, the editor of the loyal newspaper of the Restoration, has accurately recorded the particulars.

The well known Thomas Sydserf, or Saint Serf, son of Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, was a follower, and a great admirer of Montrose. He never hesitated, when an occasion occurred, to risk his life in serving him and the Cause. In 'The Covent Garden Drollery,' printed in 1672, the adventurous and daring spirit of his loyalty is thus recorded:—

> 'Once like a pedlar, they have heard thee brag,
> How thou didst cheat their sight, and *save thy craig*,
> When to the Great Montrose, under pretence
> Of *godly bukes*, thou brought'st *intelligence*.'

(See Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club, vol. i. p. 87.)

When the Restoration had turned the furious but retributive tide of loyalty against the murderous torrents of fanaticism, Thomas Sydserf devoted himself, as an organ of the legitimate government, to revile the old spirit, and sustain the new, by means of cheap and popular publications. Principal Baillie, in a letter to the Reverend James Sharp, (he who became Archbishop, and was so brutally murdered by the Christians of the Wodrow School,) dated in February 1661, thus compliments Thomas Sydserf. 'James, have you *now* no so much power as to stay the railing *on us* of that *very malicious Diurnaller?* If the Parliament would put on him the penaltie of *my worme*, I think it would quickly temper his uncivill pen,' (Letters and Journals, iii. 454.) Did no ungentle or uncivil expression ever fall from the pen of Robert Baillie, and against enemies more generous than any whom his sect ever produced? The *Diurnal* here referred to is the *Mercurius Caledonius*, of which Sydserf was the Editor, and in which he spared not to execrate the diabolical temper and career of that party, who now lay grovelling beneath the ruin it had wrought.[1] Hence Robert Baillie, in another letter of the same year, calls him

[1] Baillie, even when contemplating the ruin, seems to have blinded himself to the fact, that it was the result, and the inevitable result, of that vicious career, in which he himself had been a constant, and sometimes a virulent coadjutor. His Letters and Journals compose the severest record

'Tom Sincerf, the diurnaller, a profane atheistical papist, *as some count him.*' Not the least of his loyal objects was to appease the *manes* of his hero Montrose.

The *Mercurius Caledonius*, dated 'Edinburgh, Monday, January 7, 1661,'—one of those loyal missives which had so greatly excited the spleen of the now crest-fallen Baillie,—is devoted to recording the preparations for restoring the remains of Montrose to hallowed ground. 'This day,' it says, 'in obedience to the order of Parliament, this city was alarmed with drums, and nine trumpets, to go in their best equipage and arms, for transporting the dismembered bodies of his Excellency the Lord Marquis of Montrose, and that renowned gentleman, Sir William Hay of Dalgetty, murdered both, for their prowess and transcending loyalty to King and Country; whose bodies, to their glory and their enemies' shame, had been ignominiously thrust in the earth, under the public gibbet, half a mile from town.' After describing the pageantry, the journalist adds, that they 'went to the place, where, having chanced *directly*,—however, possibly, *persons might have been present able to demonstrate*,—on the same trunk, as *evidently appeared by the coffin*, which had been formerly broke a purpose, *by some of his friends*, in that place nigh his chest, whence *they stole his heart*, embalmed it in the costliest manner, and *so reserves it;* as also by the trunk itself, found without the skull, and limbs distracted in the four chief towns of the nation; but these, through the industry and respect of friends carried to the martyr, are soon to welcome the rest.'

against the Covenant. The following passage, written in 1654, the fourth year after Montrose's death, would be amusing, were it not so melancholy.

'This is the pitiful condition of our Church, which is but *going on from evil to worse*, till the Lord remeed it. As for our State, this is its case: Our Nobilitie weel near all are wracked. *Dukes Hamiltoun*, the one execute, the other slaine; their estate forfault; one part of it gifted to English sojours; the rest will not pay the debt; little left to the heretrix; almost the whole name undone with debt. *Huntlie* execute; his sonnes all dead hot the youngest; there is more debt on the House nor the land can pay. *Lennox* is living, as a man buried in his house of Cobhame. *Douglas*, and his son *Angus*, are quyet men, *of no respect*. *Argyle*, almost drowned with debt, *in friendship with the English*, but *in hatred with the countrey*: he courts the Remonstrators, who were and are averse from him! *Chancellor Loudon* lives like *ane outlaw* about Athol, his lands comprysed for debt, under *a general very great disgrace*. Marschell, Rothes, Eglinton and his three sonnes, Craufurd, Lauderdaill, and others, *prisoners in England;* and their lands either sequestrate or forfault, and gifted to English sojours. *Balmerinoch* suddenly dead; and his sonne, for public debt, compryseings, and captions, *keeps not the calsie*. *Warriston*, having refunded *much of what he got for places*, lives privelie in a hard enough condition, *much hated by the most*, and *neglected by all*, except the Remonstrants, to whom he is guide.' &c. &c. (Letters and Journals, iii. 249.) Compare this with Montrose's predictions, in his Essay upon Government, *supra*, p. 43.

Sydserf then proceeds to give an account of the ceremony of taking down Montrose's head from the Tolbooth; and adds, that these remains were conveyed with great pomp and solemnity to the Abbey church of Holyroodhouse, 'there to continue in state, until the noble Lord, his son, be ready for the more magnificent solemnization of his Funerals.' Accordingly, upon the Saturday following, occurred 'The true Funerals of Montrose.' This was the splendid and chivalrous pageant, ordered by the King and Parliament, for the interment of the collected remains of Montrose in the grave of his grandfather, the Viceroy of Scotland, in St Giles's church; where they were then laid, amid the approving shouts of the populace, the repeated volleys of the train-bands, who lined the streets, and the roar of cannon from the Castle. A minute account of this imposing ceremonial was published at the time, in a separate pamphlet, the authorship of which is not doubtful, as in the procession are recorded, 'Two *secretaries*, Master William Ord, and *Master Thomas Sydserf*.' Moreover, some of the expressions in this pamphlet are identical with some that occur in the previous *Mercurius Caledonius*. Sydserf concludes his narrative, in the pamphlet, with this still more explicit information regarding the heart of Montrose:

'All that belonged to the body of this great hero was carefully re-collected, only his heart, which, *two days* after the murder, in spite of the traitors, was, by conveyance of some *adventurous spirits* appointed by that noble and honourable Lady, the Lady Napier, taken out, and embalmed in the most costly manner by that skilful chirurgeon and apothecary, *Mr James Callender*, then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble Lady to the *now Lord Marquis*, who was then in Flanders. The solemnities being ended, the Lord Commissioner, with the nobility and barons, had a most sumptuous supper and banquet at the Marquis of Montrose's house, with concerts of all sorts of music.'

That Thomas Sydserf was the leading 'adventurous spirit' appointed by Lady Napier to procure the heart 'in spite of the traitors,' is not only most probable in itself, but seems intended to be insinuated by the adventurous and loyal journalist. Nor can a reasonable doubt exist, that James second Marquis of Montrose was thus put in possession of the precious relic, seeing that these circumstantial accounts of the fact were published under the auspices of that Marquis, and would instantly be in his hands, and those of Lady Napier herself.

This precious relic is not now in possession of the family of Montrose; nor has a record of the incident been found among the Montrose papers; nor has any tradition been preserved in the family either of the acquisition or the loss of the

treasure. Yet it is absolutely proved, by the evidence collected above, that James second Marquis of Montrose was in possession of his father's heart, embalmed, and enshrined in a gold box. According to Sydserf, he was still in possession of the relic in 1661. That it should ever have been lost sight of is not a little singular. Some time in last century it is supposed to have been recovered by Francis fifth Lord Napier, great-grandson of the Lady who had it embalmed. For this part of its eventful history, however, the reader must be referred to a very interesting letter on the subject, by the Right Honourable Sir Alexander Johnston (grandson of Francis fifth Lord Napier), which the Editor published in the Life and Times of Montrose, p. 501. Its most extraordinary adventures by sea and land, its temporary possession by an Indian chief, its subsequent recovery by Sir Alexander Johnston, and the ultimate loss of it, from its being secreted with some other plate in a well at Boulogne, are facts which are well authenticated in that letter, whose narrative beggars the history of the heart of the Bruce.

IV.

MONTROSE'S POETRY.

Montrose was a hero, not a poet. He might have been a poet, had he not been a hero. He was a man of poetical genius, unquestionably; and there are some things written by him that can never die. Hence he deserves a niche among the loyal poets of the reign of Charles I. Moreover, little as he wrote, and unpolished and unpremeditated as that little seems to be, he may be called *par excellence* the poet of the Martyr King. The lines on the murder of his Sovereign we have heard criticised as *inflated*, as *bombast;* and particular offence taken at the concluding line, 'And write thine epitaph with blood and wounds.' The expression is indeed not happy, and has become disagreeable to the ear, in consequence of the Catholic reference to the blood and wounds of our Saviour having become debased into a vulgar oath. But Montrose neither thought of the Catholic allusion, nor of the nautical exclamation. He meant the simple fact, that death by the sword to all the abettors of the King's murder was the only resource; and 'wounds' was an inevitable rhyme to 'trumpet sounds.' To pronounce the lines bombast ending in bathos, is a puerile criticism, a contracted view. The lines are not amenable to ordinary criticism. They are immortal; not from the

merit of the poetry, but from the greatness of the occasion. They have become as fixed in men's minds, as the death of Charles. It is nonsense to talk of *bombast* in reference to lines written in the very agony of that great shock, and which came from the heart of Montrose like a gush of blood. But neither are they without merit as a composition. The opening burst is a spark of the fire of true genius. 'GREAT, GOOD, and JUST!' Men may cavil at the truth of the attributes. Some will say that Charles was neither great, good, nor just. Others will admit that he was great under his misfortunes, good in all his domestic relations, and in every Christian sense, but that his justice died with Strafford. Montrose, however, believed in the attributes he assigned, with a faith not to be shaken; and the manner in which he at once rears them up, and confronts them with the bloody deed of the regicides, is nothing less than sublime. It is remarkable that Dr Wishart, in his elegant latin translation, has not grappled with this fine opening. He *names* the King, which Montrose does not.

'*Carole!* si possem lacrymis æquare dolorem.'

'Oh Charles,' is a poor substitute for 'GREAT, GOOD, and JUST.'

Not a scrap of Montrose's poetry in his own handwriting is known to exist; and none of it has been preserved in the archives of his family. The original autograph of the lines on the death of the King, was supposed to be in the Strawberry-hill collection, written upon the title-page of an older pamphlet having no connection with the subject. This was purchased by the late Dr Smith, Secretary to the Maitland Club; and by him kindly and most liberally presented to the Editor; who at a glance was constrained to pronounce that it was not the handwriting of Montrose. Unquestionably, however, the hand is contemporary; and the verses are signed 'Montrose.' But the writing is much too small for his, and displays none of its peculiar characteristics.

The pendant to these lines is the hero's metrical appeal to Heaven, against the inhuman sentence he was about to undergo. This too is immortal; not from the merit of the poetry, but from the awful sublimity of the occasion. They will be found printed in the first volume of these Memorials (p. 112), in illustration of a curious coincidence with the death-song of Sir Walter Raleigh—a coincidence never observed before.

Montrose had not contemplated any publication of his poetry, and probably never thought of being remembered as a poet. By the merest accident a few poems have been preserved. They were first printed together in Watson's now

rare collection, 1711; and, as that editor states, from unprinted manuscripts. The authorship has never been disputed; but Watson merely asserts the fact, without proving it. He does not say that he got the manuscripts from the Montrose family; although possibly he may, which would account for none being now found among their archives. Fortunately, with regard to some of the best of these poems, there is the internal evidence of certain characteristic ideas and expressions, which may even be traced in several of Montrose's letters, to assure us that they were not erroneously assigned to him by Watson, in 1711. No mean specimen of his powers is the following, 'on false friends.'

'Unhappy is the man, in whose breast is confined
The sorrows and distresses all of an afflicted mind;
The extremity is great—he dies if he conceal,
The world's so void of secret friends—betrayed if he reveal.
Then break, afflicted heart, and live not in these days,
When all prove merchants of their faith, none trusts what other says.
For when the sun doth shine, then shadows do appear,
But when the sun doth hide his face, they with the sun reteir;
Some friends as shadows are, and fortune as the sun,
They never proffer any help till fortune hath begun;
But if in any case fortune shall first decay,
Then they, as shadows of the sun, with fortune pass away.'

We may accept this as Montrose's (it never having been disputed) at the hands of Mr Watson, in 1711. The pervading sentiment is quite consistent with Montrose's experiences and feelings. But we may add a coincidence that is not inconsequential to the identification. In the letter which Montrose and Lord Napier composed, in conjunction, to Charles I. in the year 1641 (see vol. I. p. 268), these words occur (p. 270), 'Harken not to Rehoboam's counsellors; they are flatterers, and therefore cannot be friends; *they follow your fortune*, and love not your person.'

There is another little poem, in Watson's collection, which bears the impress of Montrose's passionate feeling for the Monarchy. Manifestly it refers to the progress of the democratic assault upon the prerogatives of the Sovereign.

'Can little beasts with lions war,
And little birds with eagles soar?

Can shallow streams command the seas,
And little ants the humming bees?
O no, no, no, it is not meet
The head should stoop unto the feet.'

Sir James Balfour (unquestionable contemporary authority) has preserved, in his *Adversaria*, a curious pasquil of Montrose's against Hamilton. The incident happened at York in 1643, when Montrose and Hamilton were both there with the Queen, and when, to the great indignation and dismay of the former, the feeble, insidious counsels of the latter were carrying all before them.

'*Epitaph.*

'Here lies a dog, whose qualities did plead
Such fatal end from a *renowned* blade;
And blame him not that he succumbed now,
For Here'les could not combat against two;
For whilst he on his foe revenge did take,
He *manfully* was killed *behind his back*.
Then say, to eternize the cur that's gone,
He *fleshed the maiden sword* of HAMILTON.'

The unequivocal contempt, so fearlessly expressed, for the military character of Hamilton, is the curiosity of this roughly penned pasquil. Montrose seems to have made no secret of it, for Sir James Balfour got a copy. It must have been particularly stinging to Hamilton in that part where his sword is called a *maiden sword*, now fleshed by its first conquest, *a cur!* Hamilton piqued himself upon having acquired a military reputation by his ridiculous expeditions abroad. Montrose's estimate is curiously illustrated by this well-known passage in Clarendon: 'His natural darkness, and reservation in discourse, made him be thought a *wise* man; and his having been in command under the King of Sweden, and his *continual discourses of battles and fortifications*, made him be thought *a soldier*. And both *these mistakes* were the cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous man, than in truth he deserved to be.' But he was in truth the most dangerous man that ever entered the counsels of a monarch; and he was the evil genius of Charles I. Montrose's constant estimate of him was verified throughout, and crowned by the fate of the grand army of the Engagement. A finer military array was never organised in Scotland, in support of the Monarchy. It had every material to ensure its success. It was, except in its commander, per-

fectly and nobly officered. It far surpassed any army ever commanded by Montrose. Instantly it went to wreck and ruin, and was dissolved in masses, like snow on the mountains, no one could tell how, under the auspices of Hamilton!

Of all that have been preserved as poems by Montrose, the one most worthy of consideration, as a poem, is the long and wild ballad, somewhat incoherently designed, to an imaginary mistress. The reason of the incoherence is, that the poet's mind has been dwelling more upon the state of the times, upon the condition of the Monarchy, and upon feelings of loyalty, than upon *love*, or the expression of any real amatory feeling. The internal evidence for this is quite conclusive; and we are surprised that Lord Mahon could not perceive it. (See on this subject vol. I. p. 240.) It was a common practice with the Cavalier poets of the day to interlace their bacchanalian, or erotic measures, and moods, with their devotion to the King and the Throne. One blunt honest Cavalier, with a very rough pen, puts the matter plainly thus, which we recommend to Lord Mahon's attention. Captain John Gwyn writes the memoirs of his loyal career. He happened to be in prison, and he tells us:—

'Then in case my designs, which before I had time to force my liberty, should fail me, and to satisfie my friends why I had rather die than live and never serve my King, nor any of that royal race, I exprest it as well as I could in a few lines I made in verse, upon my inseparable devotion to loyalty *I called mistress;* with my invective in a short character of Cromwell, and his never to be forgotten Long Parliament; who had hanged me for my loyalty, but for my honest keeper.

'*Upon my inseparable devotion to Loyalty, I called Mistress.*

'I am so fond a lover grown,
That for my mistress cans could dye,
Nor would enjoy my love alone,
But wish her millions more than I.

'I am devoted to her hand,
A willing sacrifice would be,
If shee be pleased but to command,
To dye is easy unto me.'

(Memoirs of Captain John Gwyn, p. 71; edited by Sir Walter Scott, 1822.)

Montrose is neither so explicit, nor so coherent in his object, though infinitely more poetical, than the blunt Cavalier. He sets up a puppet which he calls his 'dear and only love,' and immediately commences to pelt it with a storm of loyal imagery, till the pretended object of his affection is as much disfigured as a witch that has been ducked. He commences by calling her a 'little world,' and insists that 'purest Monarchie' alone is to be established therein. The demon of democracy is not to plant his foot there; else, he says, he will call a Synod in his heart, and never love her more. He declares he will reign paramount and unrivalled, like Alexander; and then he hurls this fine burst at the head of his pilloried mistress, which really is not very germain to the matter of love;

> 'He either fears his fate too much,
> Or his deserts are small,
> That dares not put it to the touch,
> To win or lose it all.'

But (and we recommend the fact to the particular attention of Lord Mahon) although this well-known verse has no very obvious application to a case of amatory persuasion, it has a direct reference to Montrose's views as to the best mode of sustaining the cause of Charles I., and the Monarchy. It is a valuable and curious identification of the authorship of this famous ballad, that we find the very same expressions, in prose, occurring in Montrose's correspondence with Prince Rupert. In the letter which he writes to the Prince on the 3d December 1648 (*supra*, p. 359), he says: 'At which time I hope to let your Highness see all is not yet gone, but that we may have a handsome pull for it, *and either win it or be sure to lose it fairly.*' Again, in another letter to the Prince, dated 8th January 1649 (*supra*, p. 363), he says: 'I thought fit to direct back this bearer to receive your Highness's commands, and to impart unto you what is not so fit to be hazarded to paper; since this appears the *stroke for the party*, and probable conjuncture, [whose?] use or miserving, should *either gain or lose the whole.*' The coincidence is irresistible. It stamps the ballad as Montrose's, and at the same time detects the real current of the feeling. In a letter to the Prince of Wales, dated 20th January 1649, Montrose writes: 'As I never had *passion upon earth so strong* as that to do the King your father service, so shall it be my study, if your Highness command me, to shew it redoubled for the recovery of you; and that I shall never have friend, end, nor enemy, but as your pleasure, and the advancement of your service shall require. Wherein, if your Highness shall but vouchsafe *a*

little faith unto your loyal servants, and *stand at guard with others*, your affairs can soon be whole.' (*supra*, p. 365.) Is the spirit of this intensely felt though subdued remonstrance, not to be traced, in unrestrained ardour, through those wild but noble verses, which, for their own sake *as poetry*, and from the fire and originality of the expressions, will adhere to the mind while language lasts?—

'And in the Empire of thine heart,
Where I should solely be,
If others do pretend a part,
And dare to vie with me,
Or *Committées* if thou erect,
And go on such a score,
I'll laugh and sing at thy neglect,
And never love thee more.

'But if thou wilt prove faithful then,
And constant of thy word,
I'll make thee *glorious* by my pen,
And *famous* by my sword;
I'll serve thee in such noble ways
Was never heard before,
I'll crown and deck thee all with bayes,
And love thee more and more.'

Let it never be forgotten, in considering the theory that Montrose's ballad is a superstructure of real and intense loyalty upon a very thin layer of fictitious love, that he actually wrote to the Prince of Wales, 'I never had passion upon earth so strong, as that to do the King your father service.'

With regard to this ballad as a poem, surely we must come to the conclusion, that it is more than sufficient to entitle Montrose to a distinguished niche among the Cavalier poets of the reign of Charles I. It is somewhat prolix, unpolished, and not always intelligible. But, at the same time, every stanza has something of poetic fire, vigour, and originality. Some portions of the last verse quoted, are no less adhesive to men's minds than Campbell's immortal couplet,

'Whose flag has braved a thousand years
The battle and the breeze.'

However rough and unpolished, there may be detected throughout the whole com-

position an unmistakeable ray that marks the true gem. Nor is he always rough. The following stanza flows with almost startling sweetness amidst the storm of the wilder imagery :—

'The golden laws of love shall be
Upon those pillars hung;
A single heart, a simple eye,
A true and constant tongue,
Let no man for more love pretend
Than he has hearts in store,
True love begun will never end,
Love one and love no more.'

The Editor, in his first work upon Montrose, entitled 'Montrose and the Covenanters,' has collected all that can be discovered of Montrose's poetry, having any pretension to authenticity. He there stated (vol. II. p. 566), 'They were first printed together in Watson's now rare collection, 1711, and, as that editor states, from unprinted manuscripts. Probably, however, they are to be met with printed separately, of an older date, on single sheets, or "broadsides," as was the fashion of the day.' This conjecture has actually been realized, by the discovery of a broadside, or single sheet, containing the ballad in question, rudely printed in blackletter, and obviously of an older date than 1711. It is entitled 'An excellent new ballad, to the tune of "I'll never love the more."' But the authorship is not there attributed to any one; and it is printed along with other ballads of indifferent merit, obviously from various sources. Some of them are ribbald, and others puritanical. The discovery of this broadside is due to the acute researches of Doctor Irvine, late of the Advocates' Library, while illustrating the ancient poetry of Scotland. With great liberality that gentleman placed his acquisition at the disposal of the Editor. The blackletter copy varies considerably from that in Watson's collection, and is by far the best version. Moreover, the stanzas are differently arranged, relatively to each other, and in much better sequence. In some lines, however, there are obvious blunders of the rude press, rendering the text unintelligible. The Editor, therefore, has thought it right to present the Maitland Club with the most perfect version of Montrose's ballad that has yet appeared, by means of a collation of the blackletter copy, with the version of 1711. The old broadside, however, has been for the most part followed.

The Editor is aware of several little poems which, in modern times, have been attributed to Montrose. The conjecture, however, rests upon no authority. In

one instance, positive injustice has been done to an accomplished gentleman of the last century, which we must here rectify once for all. Lord Mahon, in his review of the Life and Times of Montrose, says: 'There is another song which we earnestly commend to Mrs Arkwright's attention; it is not certainly known to be Montrose's, nor does Mr Napier notice it; indeed it has been ascribed to Mr Graham of Gartmore. "But Sir Walter Scott," says the last editor of the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, "told me, he believed these verses to have been the composition of a nobler Graham—the great Marquis of Montrose" (edit. 1833.) We cannot tell on what proof Sir Walter relied; but the resemblance *in style and manner* appears to us *very strong*. Of this, however, our readers shall judge for themselves.' (Historical Essays, pp. 173-4.) His Lordship then proceeds to quote the well-known elegant little ballad, which commences,

'If doughty deeds my lady please,
Right soon I'll mount my steed.'

All this is extremely loose. Our noble critic had obviously made no acquaintance whatever with Montrose's 'style and manner,' which he rashly says this sweetly flowing effusion of a carpet knight *resembles very strongly*. In not one line, or expression, or idea, does it resemble Montrose. It resembles Montrose as the tinkling of a silver bell does the boom of a gong. Montrose (with a few exceptions) wrote as roughly as he rode. How could the accomplished reviewer perceive a strong resemblance to Montrose in these stanzas?—

'If gay attire delight thine eye,
I'll dight me in array,
I'll tend thy chamber door all night,
And squire thee all the day;
If sweetest sounds can win thy ear,
Those sounds I'll strive to catch,
The voice I'll steal to woo thysel,[1]
That voice that none can match.'
'Then tell me how to woo thee, love,' &c.

'But if fond love thy heart can gain,
I never broke a vow,
Nae maiden lays her skaith to me,
I never lov'd but you;

[1] Not 'thyself,' as Lord Mahon has reprinted it, which destroys the melody of the line.

For you alone I ride the ring,
For you I wear the blue,
For you alone I strive to sing
O tell me how to woo!'

'O tell me how to woo thee, love,
O tell me how to woo thee!
For thy dear sake, nae care I'll take,
Tho' ne'er another trow me.'

We go so far as to say, that those musical stanzas are too smooth for Lovelace, and are obviously of a more modern cast than any poet of the reign of Charles I. Nor have we any faith in that loose tradition of Sir Walter Scott's opinion on the subject. We should like to have seen a critical essay by Sir Walter, proving the *strong resemblance* between those verses, and the muse of Montrose, or of any Cavalier poet whomsoever. Moreover, we have Sir Walter's own declaration to the contrary. In the edition of the Minstrelsy 1821, he notes, to the very ballad in question,—'The following verses are taken down from recitation, and are *averred* to be of the age of Charles I. They have, indeed, much of the romantic expression of passion common to the poets of that period, whose lays still reflected the setting beams of chivalry: but, since their publication in the first edition of this work, the editor has been informed that they were composed by the late Mr Graham of Gartmore.' When Lord Mahon's review of the Life of Montrose was published, the present Mr Graham of Gartmore complained grievously, to the editor of these Memorials, that his grandfather's elegant poem, of which the family are so justly proud, was thus attempted to be transferred to Montrose. The chain of tradition is so very short, that we think there can be no mistake about the matter; and the present Gartmore also assured the editor, that he is in possession of a manuscript volume, containing, among other effusions of their accomplished ancestor, the very ballad in question.

AN EXCELLENT NEW BALLAD TO THE TUNE OF 'I'LL NEVER LOVE THEE MORE.'

The First Part.

1.

My dear and only love, I pray
That little world,—of Thee,—
Be governed by no other sway
Than purest Monarchie.
For if confusion have a part,
Which virtuous souls abhor,
I'll call a Senod in mine heart,
And never love thee more.

2.

As Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone;
My thoughts did evermore disdain
A rival on my throne:
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all.

3.

But I *will reign,* and govern still,
And always give the law,
And have *each subject at my will,*
And all to stand in awe;
But 'gainst my batteries if I find
Thou kick, or vex me sore,
As that thou set me up a blind,
I'll never love thee more.

4.

And in the Empire of thine heart,
Where I should solely be,
If others do pretend a part,
Or dare to vie with me,
Or *Commitées* if thou erect,
And go on such a score,
I'll laugh and sing at thy neglect,
And never love thee more.

5.

But if thou wilt prove faithful then,
And constant of thy word,
I'll make thee *glorious* by my pen,
And *famous* by my sword;
I'll serve thee in such noble ways
Was never heard before.
I'll crown and deck thee all with bayes,
And love thee more and more.

The Second Part.

1.

My dear and only love, take heed,
How thou thyself dispose;
Let not all longing lovers feed
Upon such looks as those;

I'll marble-wall thee round about,
Myself shall be the door,
And if thy heart chance to slide out,
I'll never love thee more.

2.

Let not their oaths, like vollies shot,
Make any breach at all,
Nor smoothness of their language plot
Which way to scale the wall,
Nor balls of wild-fire love consume
The shrine which I adore,
For if such smoke about thee fume,
I'll never love thee more.

3.

I know thy virtues be too strong
To suffer by surprise;
If that thou slight their love too long,
Their siege at last will rise,
And leave thee conqueror, in that health
And state thou wast before,—
But if thou turn a *Commonwealth*,
I'll never love thee more.

4.

And if by fraud, or by consent,
Thy heart to ruin come,
I'll sound no trumpet as I wont,
Nor march by tuck of drum,
But hold my arms, like Achaus,[1] up,
Thy falsehood to deplore,
And bitterly will sigh and weep,
And never love thee more.

[1] Perhaps *Accius* or *Attius*, a celebrated Roman tragic poet, and author of Annals, in the time of Scipio Africanus the younger. There was another of that name celebrated as an Augur. The version of 1711 has it, 'And hold my arms like *ensigns* up.' The blackletter reading is infinitely better.

5.

I'll do with thee as Nero did
When he set Rome on fire,
Not only all relief forbid,
But to a hill retire,
And scorn to shed a tear to save
Thy spirit grown so poor,
But laugh and smile thee to thy grave,
And never love thee more.

6.

Then shall thy heart be set by mine,
But in far different ease,
For mine was true, so was not thine,
But look'd like Janus' face;
For as the waves with every wind,
So sails thou every shore,
And leaves my constant heart behind,—
How can I love thee more?

7.

My heart shall with the sun be fix'd,
For constancy most strange,
And thine shall with the moon be mix'd,
Delighting ay in change;
Thy beauty shin'd at first so bright,
And woe is me therefore,
That ever I found thy love so light
That I could love no more.

8.

Yet for the love I bare thee once,
Lest that thy name should die,
A monument of marble stone
The truth shalt testify;
That every pilgrim, passing by,
May pity and deplore,
And, sighing, read the reason why
I cannot love thee more.

9.

The golden laws of love shall be
Upon those pillars hung:
A single heart—a simple eye—
A true and constant tongue,—
Let no man for more love pretend
Than he has hearts in store,—
True love begun will never end,—
Love one and love no more.

10.

And when all gallants ride about
Those monuments to view,
Whereon is written, in and out,
Thou traiterous and untrue.
Then, in a passion, they shall pause,
And thus say, sighing sore,
Alace! he had too just a cause
Never to love thee more.

11.

And when that tracing goddess Fame
From east to west shall flee,
She shall record it to thy shame,
How thou hast loved me;
And how in odds our love was such
As few have been before;
Thou lov'dst too many, and I too much;
So I can love no more.

12.

The misty mount, the smoking lake,
The rocks' resounding echo,
The whistling winds, the woods that shake,
Shall all, with me, sing *hey ho!*
The tossing seas, the tumbling boats,
Tears dripping from each oar,
Shall *tune* with me their *turtle notes*,
I'll never love thee more.

13

As doth the turtle, chaste and true,
Her fellow's death regrate,
And daily mourns for her adieu,
And ne'er renews her mate.
So, though thy faith was never fast,
Which grieves me wondrous sore,
Yet I shall live in love so chaste,
That I shall love no more.

SUPPLEMENT OF PAPERS RECENTLY DISCOVERED.

(See Preface, Page xxvii.)

I.

Answers to Mr Johne Stewart's Deposition, in so far as the samyn concerns the Erle of Montrois, 28th February 1642.

The said depositioun cannot be usit against Montrois, as the testimonie of ane witnes: Becaus, Montrois had of befoir gevine up Mr Johne to the Committee as his author of the speiches mentionat in Montrois declaratioun taken befoir thame: Lykeas, Mr Johne acknowledgeit himself authour thereof, and so exonerit Montrois, and made himself the pairtie; sua that any subsequent depositioun he hes maid, or confessioun emittit contrarie to his former depositioun, the samyn can mak no faith; as beand, first, an voluntarlie confessioun gevin in be himself to the

Committie, extrajudiciallie, drawne up befoir, and not upone any judiciall tryall and examinatioun; 2d, being contradictorie to his former depositiouns judiciall; 3d, not being examined as ane witness *parte citata*, but as *reus;* 4th, being *reus condemnatus super crimine capitali*, and of hoip of impunitie, and to extenuat his awin fault, and put the blame on utheris; quhilk appeiris by the wordis of his awin confessioun; his desyre to the Committie being, that as they had gone on with lenitie towards him hidderto, so they wald with patience examine utheris quhom he gave as debtours and informars of him; that his guilt do not appeir worse nor it is; and, everie man beiring his awin burdene, it micht be fund, his not to be odious, etc.: Alwayes protesting for favour at the Committie, and the Erle of Argyle his handes: 6th, it is *testimonium singulare.*

And yit the said dispositioun and confessioun manefastlie cleirs Montrois of any speiches he spoke to Mr Johne Robertson, Mr Robert Murray, or Colonall Cochrane, anent the change of Government, or uther privat practising: First, becaus he (Stewart) acknowledges that he was informer of Montrois anent the Bands taken be Argyle from the Athole men and utheris; and that the Erle of Athole, and sum of his men, wald cleir the samyn; and that he saw thrie coppies of the said Bands.

Item, he acknowledges that he was authour to Montrose, of the wordes alledgit spokin be Argyle at the fuird of Lyone,—and when Montrois desyred him to try quhat presumptiounes, and probatioun, he could find out anent the samyn, he confesses he did it, upone this conditioun, that Montrois sould be spairing to wrong him; quhilk he promeist; bot with all declairs that Montrois directit him to keip within bounds, rather then to exceed: And confesses that he related to Montrois conforme to the first depositioun, quhilk he reaffirmes Athole did approve to be of veritie: And that Montrois attestit him befoir God that he sould keip up no thing of Argyle anent the premisses; and set doun all in order; probabilities as probabilities; presumtiounes as presumptiounes: Lykeas be the said confessioun he condiscends upone the wayes he took for probatioun of the speiches; and upon the Erle of Atholes pairt therintill; quhilk cleirlie evinces Montrois his integritie; and that he had good ground for what he had spokin, or did, in the said particular.

Item, he confesses also that informatioun was sent to Montrois, be Athole and himself, beiring ane informatioun of the Bands mentionat in the first depositioun; beiring also a number of presumptiounes from Argyles proceedings; with Argyles speiche at the fuird of Lyone; as also ane uther discours that Argyle sould have

spokin [i. e. *spoke*] at Balloche, affirmeing that ane of his predicessours wer Erles of Athole; and that (as Athole alledges) Argyle said he was *the aucht man from Robert the Bruce*. These and many uther thingis he affirmes he sent to Montrois in a paper; and yit he declairs that thereftir, when he cam to Edinburgh, Montrois told him that he had not considerit that paper that Athole and he had sent unto him; and thairfoir willed him to read it, quhilk he did: Quhilk cleirly scheweth that Montrois had reassoun for it, if he did desyre Athole and him to have their probatioun in reddiness against the Parliament, and search out what farder they could concerning Argyle.

Item, he confesses that he wreat to Traquair concerning the said speiches; as also concerning the words alledgit spokin be the Erle of Rothes to Inchmartene; and be Inchmairtene to William Buttar, and to himself and Sir Thomas Stewart, beiring these wordes: 'I feir we be forced to put our intentions to executioun,' etc. As also confesses how there was lynes wreat in Ireische, concerning Argyle, quhilks he translates in thir words following: 'I gave Argyle the praise, becaus all men sies it is treuth; for he will tak geir from the lawland men; and he will tak the Crouu per force; and he will cry King at Whitsonday.' As lykewayes that the commoun souldiours of his armie, whair[ever] they came, they said *they were King Campbells men, no more King Stewartis*. And ene of the reassounes quhey he settis doun these words in his depositioun is, that he gave oath, that he sould conseill nothing now that he knew of Argyle, or have hard, that may tend to his prejudice, or for the quhilk he may be broght in questioun heirefter.

Item [Stewart] declairs that he knew nothing of any correspondance or combinatioun betwixt Montrois or Traquair.

Item, declairs that he informed Montrois, that David Spaldene of Archentullie gave to the Erle of Argyle ane band of twa thousand merks, with uther twa thousand merks payed be him in hand, for his inlairgment out of his waird, befoir he wold suffer him to go home, he beand takin with him out of Athole to Argyle.

Item, he settis doun in his confessioun the chief reassounes that Athole grounds his presumptiounes upone, that Argyle was aequyrer of his commissioun himself; quhilks are referred to the Judges consideratioun.

This confessioun of the said Mr Johne Stewart, with all other his depositiounes taken in the said matter, Montrois earnestlie desyres that they may be narrowly considered; that all the world may knaw, what probable grounds he had to studie and labour for estableisching of the Kingis authoritie, and liberties of the Countrie; and to obviat all indirect practises, of the quhilk he had jealousies and

presumptiounes, as may appear by all the passages, declaratiounes, and depositiounes that have been takin in this business from the beginning.

II.

Orders for Generall Major Sir John Hurry.

You are presently after the sight hereof, to take a part of my company of Guard, with foure companies of my life-regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Collonell George Drummond, together with other foure companyes of Lieutenant Collonell Henry Stewart his squadron, and immediatly to emboate yourselfe with what armes and ammunition doth belong; and set with this evening tyde for the coast of Cathnesse; choosing the most convenient place for landing, as occasion shall serve; and if according to your intelligence you find not your landing opposed, nor noe forcesse making in a body against you, you are to march directly to the Ord, and those narrow passes twixt Cathnesse and Sutherland: for preventing the ennemyes entry, and reducing such of the country people as shall offer to ryse; according to your owne best discretion, and the rule of warre in the like cases. But if you shall finde according to your certane intelligence, that all the country of Cathnesse are in armes to resist you, and oppose the landing, in a reall way of opposition or defence, then and in that case you are not to hazard to force it, but to set for Stranaver, and there to attempt your landing, as with most safety and conveniency you can: Where if you should also finde any too much difficulty, as by appearance there cannot, you are to ply a litle higher, twixt that and Kintayle, which places are all for the King; and there make your descent, and use your best discretion in every thing as occurres. In all which cases you are still to send us frequent advertisments, as falls out. And observe punctually the premisses at your highest perill. Given under our hand from Shipboard near the island of Flottat, this 9th day of Apryle 1650.

MONTROSE.

Postscript. In regard of the shortnesse and pressingnesse of the time, you are to choose five hundreth of those that you conceave ablest and fittest of my life-regiment, and Lieutenant Collonell Henry Stewarts squadron, without looking to

the equall proportion of eyther; as also my company of Guards; and such of the volontier gentlemen and officers as are ready. Given *ut supra*.[1]

III.

For the Gentlemen and Heritours of the Shirrefdom of Cathnesse, these.

Thursto, 14*th of Aprile* 1650.

Gentlemen,

Your not appearance to us, after our arrivall in this place, so timely as wee expected, hath necessitat us (the conveniency of his Majesties affaires requiring our removall from this parte) to leave behinde us some certane persons belonging to us, by whom wee have thought good to communicate unto you such thinges as wee judge most necessary to bee done by you at this time, in order to the establishing and carryeing on of his Majesties just service in these parts, and the peace and happinesse of every one of yourselves: For which end we have particularly commanded them to offer unto you, in our name, an oath of fidelity and alledgeance, to bee subscribed by all and every one of you, to his sacred Majestie; as it hath bein already cordially done by those of the gentry and ministers of Orknay. As wee expect your cheerfull performance hereof, and ready concurrence with us, in the prosecution of that trust his Majestie has again reposed in us, soe wee shall make it evidently appeare unto you, that they could not have pitched upon any who should more firmely and constantly protect and defend you, in all your just rights and concernments, than

Your very affectionat freind,

Montrose.

[1] These orders are written upon a sheet of foolscap paper, and the document is obviously original. The signature, however, is awanting, and appears to have been detached, as the sheet has been cut at the bottom; probably this had been done, before it was recovered by the Montrose family, to gratify some idle taste for autographs. The letter to the gentlemen of Caithness, which follows the above, has also been deprived of its signature, of which, however, a small portion of the initial letter yet remains. The result of the orders to Sir John Hurry was, that he took the Castle of Dunbeath belonging to Sir John Sinclair, and having left a garrison there, returned to Montrose in time for the disaster at Carbisdale, and to accompany his former conqueror, and present commander, to the scaffold, in the following month.

IV.

Copy of the Oath signed by the Englishmen, the 27 of March at Kirkwall, 1650.

I, A B, doe from my heart sincerely and freely acknowledg our Soveraigne Lord King Charles the Second to be the true and undoubted King of Great Brittain and Ireland; and over all persons, and in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill, Supreme Governour; and that no sovraign power, prince, or potentate, hath any authority or jurisdiction over him, to dispose of his Kingdomes, or depose his royall person from the exercise of Regall authority; nor yet this present prevalent faction, which in his three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, hath rebelliously taken up armes against his sacred Majestie: And further, I doe freely promise, that from henceforth I will not, directly or indirectly, fardare or subscribe to any Engagement, Vow, or Covenant, which shall be offered unto mee by any power or authority whatsoever that shall infringe or diminish the due rights and authority of our sayd Soveraign Lord the King; or that shall renounce him from being the right and undoubted Heire to those his Majesties Kingdomes and Dominions: And I alsoe promise hereafter to beare true fayth and allegiance unto him, his heirs and successours: All which I doe freely and from my heart acknowledg and sweare, without any fraud or deceit; not being constrained and enforced hereunto by any outward violence, feare, or compulsion. Soe help mee God, and the contents of this Booke.

THE END.

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